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THE PAWNEE INDIANS

THEIR HABITS AND CUSTOMS

THE following paper has been prepared as an attempt to preserve some of the more noteworthy features of the ordinary life of this remarkable tribe. The facts given have been carefully arranged with a double view; to specify such traits and usages as best mark them as a tribe, and also to afford data for comparing them as to their characteristic usages with other of the prominent Indian families of the country. This course, next to the study of their language, affords the best means for determining their remoter affiliations, and the matter might have been amplified indefinitely had space permitted. The sketch is of necessity brief, but I trust not unimportant. Taken with a paper published in a previous number of this Magazine [IV., 241], it presents the fullest statement that has yet appeared in relation to the Pawnees. It is a peculiar fact concerning them, that they seem destined to pass away, and leave no special impress. The large and valuable territory so long held by them now affords evidence of their former presence and history in scarcely a single name that they have given to any object or locality in it. Literally 'their place knows them no more.' In this respect their fate is singularly unlike the fate of the old tribes of the east, who in passing away have left innumerable mementos of themselves behind. This evanescence, however, in the case of the Pawnees must not be attributed to any lack of character or power in them, for both they possessed in an eminent degree. It is due rather to the nature of the country, to the peaceful attitude they have ever maintained, which has tended to withdraw them from general notice, and especially to the unappreciative indifference of those who have so readily and entirely usurped their place.

§ 1. *Trade.* This was never very extensive. Their implacable warring with neighboring tribes necessarily precluded any general com-

mercial intercourse. Their trade was confined, therefore, to the few tribes with whom they were on terms of amity, *i. e.*, the Arikaras, the Mandans and Wichitas. From the latter they obtained horses and *bois d'arc*; from the two former eagles' feathers, a commodity in great demand among the Pawnees, and red pipe stone. The articles given in exchange to the Arikaras and Mandans were horses, salt from the plains of the upper Arkansas, and to the latter sometimes corn. To the Wichitas they bartered pipe stone, and to some extent eagles' feathers.

With the whites also their trade was limited, never having been sufficient to induce the establishing of a permanent trading post among them. The nearest stated establishment of this kind was at Bellevue on the Missouri, and here their dealings were comparatively light. Perhaps there is no instance of another tribe equally large whose trade in all directions was so restricted. The isolated condition in which they lived, shut in on all sides by unforgiving foes, seems in a considerable measure to have disused them to the thought of any such relations, and taught them to rely only or chiefly upon themselves.

§ 2. *Food.* The proverb, *ca'-st-ri üs'-ak-i, he tu'-ra-he ciks'-tüt lük'-u wa-wa*, "even the dogs, it is well (for them) to eat in peace," seems to indicate that to the Pawnee eating was an act which claimed something of deferential respect. Without inquiring whether the apparent spirit of this maxim was always observed, it may at least be truly said that the question of what he should eat was perhaps as potent as any other that influenced him during life. It demanded ever his serious thought, provoked his ingenuity, taxed his energy, and largely controlled his movements during the entire year. When traveling they had but one meal a day, at the close of the day's march; but when at home they cooked and ate as often as hunger prompted. The ability and readiness to eat whenever occasion offered was in their estimation an exponent of health, and if an invalid failed to take food at all, hope of recovery was immediately relinquished.

Their food was in the main coarse, but wholesome. The staple article of daily fare was buffalo meat and corn. The flesh of smaller game, and when on the hunting grounds that of the buffalo also, was eaten fresh; but for the greater part of the year they had only the dried flesh of the latter. Dried meat was frequently eaten raw, a mouthful of lean and of fat alternately to facilitate mastication and deglutition; and in case of exigency fresh meat was so taken; but usually both were cooked. The more common way of preparing was by boiling. Hence one of the most important articles of household furni-

ture was a large vessel for this purpose. Prior to coming in contact with the whites they used rude pottery of their own manufacture. Such ware was in use in cooking with the poorer portion of the tribe till quite recently. Their favorite method was to boil the meat alone, or with corn and beans, till the whole was reduced to a pulpy mass, and eat it as a thick soup with spoons. If time or appetite did not permit this, it was simply boiled. Fresh meat, and sometimes dried meat if sufficient fat adhered, was also broiled by being held in suitable pieces over coals. Another usual way of preparing the former was to cover large pieces in a bed of coals till sufficiently cooked. This method was in high repute, as it preserved most of the native juices in the meat and rendered it especially palatable.

With regard to meats in general, there was a current saying among them, that the flesh of the carnivorous animals and rapacious birds should not be eaten. The food of the most of these animals was believed to render them unclean. This dictum, however, must not be interpreted too strictly; for the flesh of some of them, as the bear, otter and skunk, was in high esteem. A fatted dog also constituted a most delicious repast. Formerly a dog dance accompanied by a dog feast was a frequent occurrence; now it is become rare, and is observed quietly, apparently that it may not attract the attention of the whites. Till recently, since the government has undertaken to subsist the tribe, they were very rigid in refusing to touch pork in any form, but this scruple has now entirely disappeared.

Dried corn was boiled alone, or with beans, forming a sort of succotash; when thus prepared buffalo tallow was put in freely to season it. Matured corn was sometimes boiled as hominy, but more frequently was ground in a mortar and boiled as mush, or made into cakes and baked in the ashes or on hot stones. The corn was sometimes parched before tritulating, and by this means the flavor of the food was much improved. Beans and pumpkins, green or dry, were prepared by simple boiling.

There were a number of wild plants, the root or fruits of which afforded a partial subsistence at certain seasons. The poorer people were sometimes obliged to live almost entirely upon food of this kind. Among the edible roots were the wild potato (*Ipomoea Pandurata*), wild turnip (*Arisaema Triphyllum*), pomme blanche (*Psoralea Esculenta*), ground bean (*Apios Tuberosa*), cucumber root (*Medeola Virginica*), a sort of artichoke (*Helianthus Doronicoides*), and some others that I was never able to determine. A species of mushroom growing freely in some localities

on the prairies was sometimes gathered in considerable quantities. The umbels of the large milkweed (*Asclepias Cornuti*) were cut when in bloom with the tender extremities of the stalks and boiled as a relish. When traveling in the summer they often picked and ate as a preventive against thirst the fruit of the ground plum (*Astragalus Caryocarpus*). Various wild fruits, as strawberries, plums, cherries (especially the sand cherry) and grapes were gathered in their season and eaten fresh, or dried for preservation. In the latter state they were much used in flavoring other dishes.

§ 3. *Feasts.* During their stay in the villages or encampments, if food was plenty, much of the time of the men was spent in feasting. Any one was at liberty to make a feast as he had the means. These entertainments were usually had in the early part of the day; still they might occur at any hour. It was not infrequent that guests were called from sleep in the dead of night to attend a feast, and seemed to participate with unimpaired zest. When a man had resolved to give a feast, he ordered his wife to hang the kettle over the fire and fill it with corn and beans, or meat, and water sufficient for boiling. This was done in the evening. If several courses were to be served, the viands were all set to cook in different kettles. Early the following morning he called in two acquaintances, who were to serve on the occasion. After smoking with them, he bade one to go and invite the first chief of the band, or, in his absence, the second. The chief was expected to bring his pipe and a supply of tobacco. After all had smoked, the host communicated his intention to the chief, who thereupon directed the two apparitors to go about the village and invite such persons as he named. The kettle (or kettles) was now taken from the fire and placed in readiness near the entrance of the lodge. All women and children were dismissed, not to return till the guests were all departed. When the apparitors returned, after smoking together again, they were sent out to borrow dishes, if the host had not sufficient of his own. These dishes were usually calabashes made from large gourds, and each containing a gallon or more. As the guests arrived each remained standing just inside the entrance till his place was assigned by the chief, who acted as master of the feast. If numerous, they were seated in two circles one immediately about the fire and the other nearer the wall of the lodge. Sometimes, if those invited already proved not enough, more were called in. After these preliminaries the master designated those who should make speeches, a number of which were expected on every such occasion. Frequently two or three old men were allowed to be

present, with the understanding that they should do most of the haranguing. One of them began by making a speech in commendation of the entertainer, the chief and other guests, and if there was any business to be transacted, he closed by stating it, and expressing his views concerning it. He was followed by the master of the feast, and after him by any distinguished person who chose to speak. After the laudation was finished and the business dismissed, an old man made a prayer, and the talking was ended. The company was then counted to determine into how many portions the food should be divided, and some one appointed to distribute the contents of the kettle equally in the dishes. One dish filled was dispatched as a present to some one of the medicine men. Another was placed before the master of the feast, who carefully raising a spoonful, drained it and returned the spoon to the person making the distribution. He refilled the spoon from the kettle, covered it with one hand, reverentially raised it toward the entrance or east, stepped across to the opposite side directly in front of the master, and poured the contents in two places on the ground, in one place three-fourths, in the other the remainder; the larger portion an offering to the buffalo, the smaller to *Ti-ra-wa*. From the time of assembling thus far the pipe and tobacco of the master were kept busily circulating. The dishes, all filled from the kettle, were now distributed to the guests, one to each, or one to every two, as proved most convenient. The contents were soon devoured, and the distribution repeated till the courses were all served. The dishes were then collected by the apparitors, and such as were borrowed returned at once to their owners. The company expressed their compliments to the entertainer and withdrew. Not infrequently it was arranged that two or more feasts should succeed each other, the guests passing from one directly to another. Several series of such feasts might also be going on at the same time under the conduct of different chiefs.

It was a usage that a guest should eat or carry away all that was set before him. The latter alternative, however, rarely occurred, as a Pawnee's digestive capacity was quite equal to any such requirement; or an accommodating friend seated near, of greater powers, would kindly devour whatever a guest might for any reason be compelled to leave uneaten. Once in a while, when going through a series of feasts, a guest might be seen sedulously endeavoring to settle the contents of his already overloaded stomach by placing his clenched left hand, closely against the lower part of the breast, and striking heavily upon it with the right, shifting the position of the left hand during the pro-

cess from side to side across the gastric region. By means of this pounding it was imagined that room might be secured for further indulgence. Such was an ordinary social feast. The routine could be varied somewhat, according to circumstances or the choice of the master; but the general features remained identical. The religious and ceremonial feasts had each a character peculiarly its own. One or two may be sketched briefly as illustrations.

A young man devoted the first buffalo that he killed to *Ti'-ra-wa*. The entire animal was carried to the lodge of some prominent person, who thereby became master of the feast. He invited in a dozen or more old men to feast with him, and assist in the observances of the occasion, and other special guests. They began at sunset. The meat was cut in small pieces and set over the fire to boil, except the heart and tongue, which were carried without the lodge and burned as a sacrifice. While the meat was boiling, and the sacrifice was burning, the medicine bundle (*it-i'-ra*) was taken from its place, opened, its contents inspected and placed out in due order. Various ceremonies were performed over them, puffing smoke upon them, stroking them with the hand, talking or praying to them, etc., by the members of the company. Speeches were then made by certain of the old men, the burden of whose remarks was laudation of the slayer of the buffalo, the master of the feast, etc., and finally a prayer was offered. The meat, having thoroughly cooked meanwhile, was now apportioned among all present, each of whom had opportunity to gorge himself to the utmost. After the eating the sacred things were gathered together, replaced in the bundle, and suspended again in place.

One of the most important and generally observed feasts was held annually, immediately after returning to the villages from the winter hunt. The aim of it was to secure a healthful season, good crops and success in all enterprises. Both old and young men participated in this feast, and its celebration was usually observed in several lodges in each village at the same time. From ten to thirty men were assembled in each lodge early in the day. Several of them were sent through the village by the master of the feast to collect dried buffalo hearts and tongues, and from thirty to sixty of each were brought in. The sacred bundle was taken down, its contents inspected and placed out in order. In its proper place with them was set the skull of an old buffalo bull. Some red paint was prepared in a dish with tallow by some one appointed for the purpose, and handed to the master, who proceeded to paint his face, breast, arms and legs. He then divided the paint in

two dishes, passing one to his neighbor on the right, the other to the neighbor on the left. They decorated themselves in like manner, and passed the paint to those next, and so on till all were painted. Some one was then designated to paint the bull's skull. The person named to this office took his place behind the skull, passed his hand smeared with the pigment three times from its nose back over the central part of the forehead. One hand was then passed on either side from the corner of the mouth back to the base of the horn, and thence to its tip. Five rods about a yard long were now whittled out and painted. To the end of each was attached a fragment of the scalp of an enemy as large as a quarter of a dollar piece. Four of the rods were taken out and set in the ground outside of the lodge, one toward each cardinal point of the compass, with the bit of scalp at the top. The fifth was set up inside directly in front of the painted skull. Next came the ceremony of smoking the sacred pipe. The smoke from it was puffed up toward the sky, down toward the earth, to the four points of the compass, upon the sacred things, upon the bull's pate, etc., by the master and all others present consecutively. Two persons were then named to offer a sacrifice. One of them took up a buffalo tongue and heart and passed out, bearing also the sacred pipe; the other followed with a bundle of faggots. They went to one of the rods before set up, arranged the faggots in a pile before it, and after placing upon them the heart and tongue, set the pile on fire. The same rite was repeated at each other rod. The man bearing the pipe then returned to the interior, while the other continued without till the piles were entirely consumed. During these services several speeches were delivered by different persons within, and a prayer offered. The proceedings thus far would occupy till noon. To preserve interest meantime the contents of two large kettles of boiled corn, or corn and meat, were at convenient stages distributed among the guests. A portion was also each time set before the bull's skull. When the corn was at last all eaten, the hearts and tongues were cut up, boiled and dealt out, being about as much to each as a man should eat in two days. After feasting thus gluttonously, the sacred things were packed up and put in place, and the company dispersed. The proceedings lasted commonly till late in the afternoon.

§ 4. *Hunting.* The Pawnees made yearly a summer and winter hunt; the former from the last of June till the first of September, the latter from the last of October till early in April. The general direction of the hunting expeditions was to the southwest into western Kansas, but sometimes the summer hunt was confined to western

Nebraska. The entire distance traveled on an expedition varied greatly, from 400 to 900 miles, according as the game proved plenty or scarce. The exact time of departure from home was generally fixed by a tribal council. Prior to starting all goods that they did not choose to take along were carefully cached, and every man and beast called in. When the day for setting out arrived all articles not previously disposed of were packed upon horses, each family as it was ready fell into line, and the bustling villages were left utterly desolate. They traveled in Indian file, and of necessity the line was often several miles in length. The men rode in advance and upon the flanks, keeping a diligent lookout over the country through which they were passing. The women and children walked in the trail, each leading one or more pack animals. Children too small to walk were carried by their mothers, or bestowed upon some convenient horse. It occasionally happened that an animal became frightened or restive, broke away from its leader, kicked about till it had freed itself completely from its load, and galloped away at full speed. The unfortunate woman who had it in charge must then follow it till caught, bring it back, gather together the scattered load, replace it upon the horse, and regain her place in the line, if indeed it was not already in camp. All the recompense she had for the fatiguing exertion was quite probably a severe chiding from her husband, who perhaps had witnessed the whole occurrence and made sport of it.

The aged and infirm were obliged to travel with the line and worry along as best they might. Such persons were accustomed to start earlier than the main body, so that they might arrive in camp in good season. Old age and decrepitude with the Indians was the dark day of life. While at home they were tolerably cared for, but on these hunts they endured extreme hardship and privation. Instances have been known where persons, who felt unable to accompany their bands, chose to remain or were left behind in the villages. A supply of provisions was given them, which in summer they might easily supplement by gathering wild fruit and various edible roots. Those in this condition, however, were almost sure to fall victims to prowling Dakotas, who regularly, during the absence of the tribe, visited the villages to perpetrate whatever maliciousness they could see their way to.

In winter the daily march did not ordinarily begin early, but in warmer weather they set out at dawn or sooner, and advanced till from eleven to four o'clock, as circumstances dictated. The distance daily traversed was from eight to twenty miles. For two or more hours after the

advance had halted the line would continue to pour into the camp, which was fixed where wood, water and forage were plenty. As soon as a family arrived the women unpacked the horses and turned them loose to graze, while they themselves pitched the lodge (a work in which they were so expert that but few minutes were required for its performance), brought wood and water, and prepared the daily meal. Sometimes they traveled all day, reaching the place selected for camp just at night-fall. On such occasions the scene which transpired beggars description. The horses were unruly, the children hungry and petulant, the women vexed and weary, the men ill-natured and imperious. Horses whinnied and pranced, dogs yelped and snarled, children teased and cried, women scolded and men threatened; no one heeded and everything went wrong. Tongue and ears at such a time were of little avail.

As soon as they arrived on the buffalo grounds the greatest circumspection was exercised in their daily progress. Men regularly appointed, known as *la-ri-pūk'-us* (soldiers), were kept constantly on the watch, and when a herd was discovered all its movements were cautiously watched. After the camp had been moved as near as might be from the lee side without alarming the game, a council was called to determine whether all indications were favorable to an instant hunt. In these councils the *ku'-ra-u* (doctors or medicine men) played a prominent part, and sometimes postponed action for several days with no further reason than the bare assertion that *it was not good*. If, however, the result of the deliberation was favorable, the proclamation of a hunt was duly made by a herald. All who wished to participate in the sport caught their fleetest horses and equipped. A number of the soldiers were assigned, whose business it was, in conjunction with the chiefs, to have charge of all the preliminaries, as also of the final chase. Two of them, curiously painted and wearing a variety of fantastic accoutrements, rode out, bearing the soldiers' escutcheon and took position, with about a dozen armed attendants, upon some convenient eminence till the body of the hunters had assembled. They then moved forward, and the hunters followed. Two old men with rattles and medicine bags ran on foot in front, singing and shaking the rattles. A person, who should have the temerity now to dash ahead of the soldiers, would scarcely escape with life. He would at least secure to himself a most merciless flogging, even rank not availing to avert the penalty. This regulation was so strict that it would not screen from summary punishment a person who should go out and kill a buffalo, and alarm the herd before the regular hunt, were he even to plead in extenuation that

it was done to save his family from starving. This was a wise usage, though it may seem uselessly severe. In this manner the troop proceeded till they were come as near as possible without startling the herd. The hardly repressed excitement at this moment was intense. Halting, the hunters were quietly drawn up in line, facing the game, so that all might have an equal chance. The word was given, and with a loud cry they sped away, each urging his trained steed to the utmost that he might first overtake and secure a victim. The horses in these charges were guided by the knees of the rider, his hands being busied with bow and arrows. In a few minutes each hunter might be seen nearing the animal that he had selected. (Till the buffaloes were two and a half years old there was little choice between the sexes. After that age the flesh of bulls became distasteful, and was rarely taken, unless in a time of great scarcity. It was owing to this fact that bulls were in excess in many herds.) Just before coming abreast of it he discharged an arrow, endeavoring to strike it high in the flank between the projecting hip and ribs, so that the shaft should take a course obliquely forward toward the vitals. A single arrow sent with skill and force in this direction, even if not immediately fatal, caused such distress as to soon bring the buffalo to a standstill. If one did not suffice, others were used. As soon as the animal ceased running, the hunter passed on to another, and sometimes a third, fourth, and even a fifth was brought to by one man in the course of half an hour. The entire number slaughtered in a single chase frequently exceeded three hundred. The Pawnees seldom resorted to a surround, attacking from all sides at once. This method was more tedious and dangerous, and was regarded as less huntsmanlike. When the chase ended the hunter returned upon his track, and despatched the wounded buffalo that he had left on the way, if indeed they were not already dead from loss of blood. If still alive they were usually found lying down, but on being approached would instantly rise and show fight. The carcasses were now skinned, cut up, packed on spare horses that had been brought up meantime by the women, and conveyed to camp. There a scene of the greatest activity ensued. The hides were stretched upon the ground with pegs to dry. The meat was carefully cut in thin strips or sheets suitable for drying, and laid upon a framework of poles over a slow fire. When the exposed side became dry enough to cause the meat to begin to roll or crumple, it was placed upon the ground and trampled or beaten with billets of wood till completely flattened out. The other side was then exposed, and the process repeated till the meat

was dry. The design of the trampling or beating was to preserve the meat in the best form for packing in bales for transportation. Sometimes it was dried in the sun alone, but was not then so good. Several days were usually required for drying the meat of one slaughtering. No salt was used in either case, but with proper care the meat could be preserved without apparent deterioration for years.

Almost every part of the buffalo was utilized. The skin answered many purposes. The horns were made into spoons. The flesh, vitals, and even the intestines, all had their place in the Pawnee cuisine. The small entrails were carefully separated, freed from their contents by being passed rapidly between the fingers, then braided together and dried with the adhering fat, forming in this condition a favorite relish. The integument of the paunch was preserved and eaten. The liver was frequently eaten raw while retaining its natural warmth, and was deemed a delicacy. The larger bones, after the flesh was removed, were roasted, split open, and the marrow extracted. If a buffalo or any game animal was killed during gestation the foetus was carefully saved, boiled in the accompanying amniotic fluid, and eaten as a choice dainty. The tongue and heart were dried and preserved for special purposes (*cf.* § 3). The tongue and heart of certain of the buffalo killed were set apart as *ti-wa'-rüks-ti* (sacred), and taken in charge by the doctors. Sometimes they laid claim to the whole of the first cow killed, and all its flesh was dried and preserved by them. It was not altogether improbable, however, that this meat was reserved under a sacred name for profane use, *i. e.*, as a provident supply against any day of want that might befall them.

The Pawnees were excellent horsemen, and in the buffalo hunt their consummate equestrianism was displayed to the finest advantage. Without hesitation they would rush at full speed over the roughest ground, into the midst of masses of buffalo which were surging along in the wildest confusion, single out and separate their victims, and repeat the manoeuvre at pleasure. But sometimes accidents of the most distressing nature happened. In an unguarded moment a hunter might be overtaken by a charging buffalo; or a horse going at full gallop might step into the burrow of some animal, and with its rider be hurled headlong. In many places on the prairie the ground is so cut up by the burrows of the prairie dog (*Cynomys Ludovicianus*) that a person cannot ride over it at an ordinary pace without great care, while at a rapid gait necessary precaution is impossible. Mishaps from one of these sources, not infrequently resulting in death, were almost inevitable in every chase.

The weapons employed in this hunting, as already stated, were the bow and arrow. The facility with which they could be managed on horseback, and their much greater efficiency in the work of destruction, were unanswerable recommendations. A buffalo wounded with a ball in a vital part might run a great distance. On the other hand, a single well-directed arrow, securely lodged, so sickened and distressed the animal as to bring it soon to a stand. An arrow could be sent with such force as to pass entirely through a buffalo, in case it did not encounter a bone, and stick in the ground on the other side; but the aim was rather to lodge it firmly in the body, as its effect was then more marked, and also the presence of the shaft would serve to indicate to whom the carcass rightfully belonged.

In the winter hunt they killed what meat they needed as soon as might be after arriving on the hunting ground, before the buffalo became poor. They went into winter quarters in some place where water, wood and unburnt grass in abundance for the horses were to be had. Here they remained till forage became scarce, when another place was sought. If grass could not be found in sufficient quantity, they cut cotton-wood trees, and subsisted the horses on the bark and tender twigs. The return to the villages did not take place till young grass was started in the spring. In the summer hunt they remained away no longer than was necessary to procure the requisite supply of meat. By the time this was accomplished their corn was ready for drying, and required immediate attention. As their calendar was not very exact, they were sometimes in doubt as to just when was the proper time to return home. In such cases they were accustomed to examine the seed in the pods of the large milkweed. A certain maturity in these was thought to mark roasting-ear time.

They also hunted other game, as elk, deer and antelope. While the buffalo was hunted mainly as an indispensable means of subsistence, these smaller animals were sought rather for their skins. Though their flesh was eaten, that of the buffalo was preferred; but for the manufacture of articles of clothing, as moccasins, leggings and shirts, buck, elk or antelope skin was far superior. They were taken by still-hunting or stalking with bow or firearms. As they had opportunity and inclination, beaver and otter were sought for their pelts, which were used in making fancy articles of clothing. Bears, when to be found, were eagerly hunted for their skins, flesh and claws. Panthers were also in constant request. A bow-case and quiver of panther skin was a coveted possession. Skunks were esteemed for their flesh and skins. The

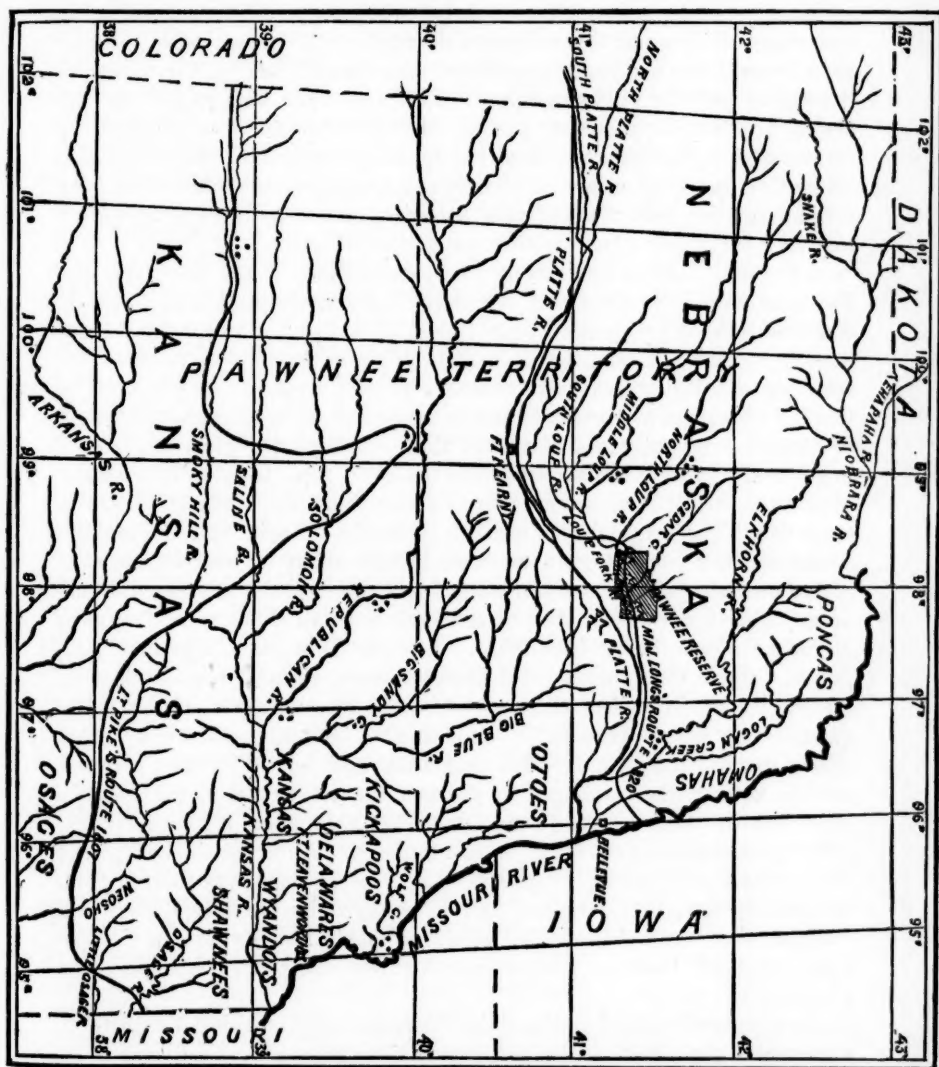


CHART OF THE PAWNEE TERRITORY.

latter, after being taken off as nearly entire as possible, was buried in loose earth for two or three days to divest it of the native odor. It was then dressed and used as a tobacco pouch or medicine bag, the mouth of the animal serving as the opening. The boys were very expert in capturing prairie chickens and quails. When one of these was started up on the prairie, the exact spot of its lighting was noted. Armed with a withe five feet long, a boy cautiously crept up to within a few feet of the crouching bird, and then darting forward, struck it down with a well-directed blow as it attempted to rise on the wing.

§ 5. *War.* Notwithstanding many assertions to the contrary, the Pawnees were in instinct and in history thoroughly warlike. Not only did war furnish an inexhaustible theme of tradition, oratory and song but the proud ambition to gain distinction as a warrior, next to the securing of a living, was with them the most potent active principle of life. To be sure, in obedience to the supposed restrictions of the treaty of 1833, for several years thereafter they refrained from any aggressive hostilities, and to a considerable degree even remitted defensive measures; still this was an obvious divergence from the ordinary tenor of their life. The original conquest of their late domain, and the maintenance of their prestige and position in the midst of jealous and ever active enemies, afford an unimpeachable evidence of their martial eminence. With not one of the powerful tribes about them were they ever on terms of continued friendship. All, the Dakotas, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Crows, Comanches, and Osages, were avowed foes, and were repeatedly made to feel the weight of the Pawnee arm. On no other ground may we so reasonably explain the insatiable hatred of these tribes toward them; and what was their opinion of Pawnee prowess may be sufficiently evidenced by the fact that never in a single instance have any of them ventured an attack upon Pawnee warriors, unless with overwhelming advantage in numbers. Alone or in troops the Pawnee was to them an irrepressible *bête noir*. Such was their reputation as fighters, that for over half a century the Omahas, Otoes and Poncas, the latter famous as warriors, preferred to live under an acknowledged Pawnee protectorate against their own kinsmen, the Dakotas.

In common with all Indians, the Pawnees were afraid of death to an extreme degree, and, therefore, personal exposure or peril was most anxiously avoided as long as possible. Hence much of their warfare partook in some measure of cheap bravado, to the partial suppression of earnest purpose to win victory by sheer courage. Still their achieve-

ments fully equal, if not surpass the deeds of the most noted Indians in the West, and instances are by no means few in which individuals and parties have displayed a genuine heroism, which should evoke unqualified admiration wherever known. One peculiarity of their military enterprises was, that whatever was done should be done quickly. They rarely hung around to worry an enemy. After one resolute effort, successful or otherwise, they immediately withdrew.

Unlike most Indians of the plains, the Pawnee war parties usually made their forays, even when they extended to a great distance, on foot. Dakota, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico and Northern Texas not infrequently acknowledged their presence and work. Tradition states that they had penetrated as far as the frontiers of Mexico. Whether any such expeditions were ever made or not, their knowledge of the prominent geographical features of the country in that direction was remarkably accurate. Just what was their reason for making their excursions on foot may not be definitely ascertainable; but we may be sure that there was some weighty consideration, else we can scarcely conceive that such fond equestrians should have foregone their wonted privilege. They sometimes explained their conduct on the ground that their movements on foot, though not so swift for a sudden dash, could be kept more secret and unerring. Besides they claimed that, in case of a hard struggle, there were certain advantages in being dismounted; they could not then be so easily stampeded, and all developments could be kept better in hand. But however this may be, it was a noteworthy fact that these parties almost invariably returned home mounted, and frequently with not a few horses to spare, securing thereby to themselves a far-reaching and well-deserved name as a tribe of inveterate horse stealers.

Parties of this kind were always under command of some chief of recognized ability and bravery, who controlled every movement at will. Much time was often spent before setting out in performing various evolutions, as fighting imaginary battles, deploying, reassembling, etc., all at the beck of the chief, who occupied some elevation, from which every signal given by him was easily discernible by all. The precision and apparent ease acquired in these exercises was almost marvelous. When at last the party was completely organized and trained, a war dance was held, in which a special sacrifice was offered for the safety and success of the expedition. The Pawnee war cry was shriller than that of many of the other tribes, consisting of a series of short, broken ejaculations.

Many of the most daring adventures were made by braves, who, unaccompanied, penetrated the enemy's country, and watched opportunity to inflict some signal stroke by surprise. This was a favorite mode of warfare, and sometimes several scalps were brought back as the trophies of one such exploit, and secured for the adventurer a life-long notoriety. Trips of this character might be extended hundreds of miles, and require weeks of absence in their accomplishment.

The return of a successful war party was an occasion of most extravagant demonstration. Men, women and children united in welcoming the victorious braves. The following night a scalp dance was celebrated, in which each one had opportunity to magnify his exploits. Prisoners, unless women and children, were rarely taken, and hence scenes of fiendish delight in inflicting exquisite torture were unusual. If, on the contrary, the party had been unfortunate and suffered loss, its return was quiet, and gave rise to dejection and unrestrained lamentation on the part of the friends of the lost.

The armor of a fully equipped warrior comprised the bow and arrows, tomahawk, spear, and shield,—the latter circular, and about two feet in diameter. It consists of a tough piece of heavy rawhide, from the neck of an old bull, sometimes double, stretched tightly over a hoop. Against any ordinary missile it was a sufficient protection. Of late years these weapons have all been discarded, except the tomahawk, for fire arms.

§ 6. *Medicine*.—All knowledge of the art of healing was believed to be vested in the guild of Doctors (*Ku'-ra-u-rük-ar'-u*), a secret order. To become a recognized member of the fraternity, a certain period of probation was required. A person might assume the dignity of doctor without submitting to the prescribed routine; but unless he could achieve some remarkable success, he was generally regarded as a pretender and discountenanced. The duration of the pupilage varied according to the candidate's aptitude in mastering the mysteries of the craft. A considerable initiatory fee was demanded, and an additional fee at certain stages of the course. The convocations of the fraternity, or members of it, were shrouded in the most impressive secrecy, and so strictly was this secrecy maintained that I never knew of one not a member being admitted. The principal business of these conclaves seemed to be the concocting of drugs, comparing and discussing certain curatives, interspersed with sundry ceremonial performances. Their great ordinance was the medicine dance, celebrated with the utmost formality at certain seasons, and continuing from one to four days. So

far as may be judged by appearances, the great object of this dance, with its numerous ritual details, was to reassure themselves and awe the people. Candidates who had passed the requisite preparation, were formally admitted to the body on these occasions.

The distinctive mark of a doctor was the wearing of the robe with the hair side out, and the ever-present medicine bag, curiously wrought and ornamented. In it were carried his nostrums, and it was often claimed to be possessed of healing properties which might be imparted by touch. Doctors were quite numerous in the different bands, and as a matter of course most of them were arrant knaves. So far as concerned any insight into the real nature of disease, they knew nothing. The general theory was that sickness was caused by malign spiritual influences. Occasionally after pretending to discover the location of the disturbing spirit in the body of the patient, the only remedial agency employed consisted in incantations for exorcising it. The following is a correct account of the treatment administered to a man who had been badly burned :

The sufferer was brought home in the evening and a doctor summoned at once. For some reason he delayed answering the call till the ensuing morning,—quite possibly to add something of impressive importance to his coming. He was accompanied by another doctor. On entering the lodge they did not deign to notice any one, and sat down in silence, and remained motionless till a pipe was filled and handed to them. The elder received it, held it up at arm's length over his head for a moment, muttered some unintelligible sounds, lowered it, carefully took from the bowl with his thumb and forefinger a small portion of the tobacco and placed it on the edge of the hearth before him. One of the family then held a brand from the fire to the pipe till it was lighted. The doctor slowly puffed the smoke two or three times upward, downward, and toward each of the cardinal points, and taking the pipe by the bowl passed it to his companion, who went through the same form; and this was repeated till the contents were consumed. The pipe was then handed to the one who had lighted it. He emptied the ashes upon the hearth so that they should entirely cover the particles of tobacco before taken from it and deposited there. He then touched the tips of his fingers to the ashes and passed his hands in succession over the pipe from the bowl to the end of the stem, and returned it to the owner, who did the same. The doctors now proceeded to inspect the patient's injuries, and after the examination was completed, began their practices. One of them took a mouthful of water from a calabash placed beside

him, groaned, beat his breast, crept backward and forward on his hand, and feet, took up some dust from the ground, rubbed it in his hands made various intricate gestures, and then pretended to vomit the water, which all the while had been in his mouth, upon the hearth. Again he filled his mouth, and after going through an even more elaborate rôle, parted the hair upon the head of the patient, blew the water in small quantities upon the scalp, breast and other parts of his body. This was repeated several times. He then applied his mouth, previously filled with water, to the sick man's head, and with groans seemed to be endeavoring with all his might to suck something from it. When this had continued some minutes, all at once he started back, and approaching the hearth, squirted the mouthful of water upon it as if drawn from the invalid's head. The same operation was repeated on several parts of his body. He then took up some of the ashes emptied from the pipe, rubbed them in his hands, and blew them upon the patient's head, breast, and wherever the suction had been tried. After all this operose detail he took a minute quantity of dark powder from his medicine bag, sprinkled it on the burns, and departed. During all this performance the other doctor was busily shaking his rattle, parading his medicine bag, and dancing with great violence over the sufferer, the occupants of the lodge looking on in profound attention and awe. These absurdities were repeated twice a day so long as the unfortunate man lived. The night he died, four days after receiving the injuries, when he was actually *in articulo mortis*, the doctors were sent for, and with redoubled fury began their elaborate parade of juggling, and by the noise and confusion to all appearance expedited dissolution.

This will serve as a fair specimen of their therapeutic treatment. Though the producing cause of the ailment was not directly recognized as spiritual, the appliances were essentially the same. In case of ordinary disease suction, and whatever other applications were made, was directed to the part of the patient's body in which the disturbing spirit was claimed to be located—usually where the most pain was felt. The doctor would often after long sucking expectorate a pebble, a fragment of bone, or even an arrow-head, which he pretended to have drawn from the spot. Sometimes violent friction, pressure, or a sort of kneading of the ailing parts was tried. At other times they attempted to frighten away the disturbing spirit by noises, as muttering, yelling, barking or growling; or by strange posturing as of a wolf, a buffalo, or bear; or by angry demonstrations, as brandishing a war-club or a tomahawk, and threatening to strike the affected part.

This system of jugglery may well enough be called senseless; but to the mass of the Indians it was otherwise. The mere physical effort on the part of the doctors was often so intense as to provoke in themselves profuse perspiration, and so protracted as to induce complete exhaustion. The uninitiated regarded all their ceremonies with the most deferential awe; and so strong was this feeling that it sufficed to invest the persons of those who had performed any (pretended) remarkable cure with a sort of glamor which enabled them to assume an almost unlimited authority in the general affairs of their bands. It was believed that some of them could, if they chose, exercise powers of witchcraft over any who had incurred their displeasure. They could negative a contemplated war party; and when on a hunt, though thousands of buffalo might be immediately about the camp, they could delay a chase indefinitely, assigning no other reason than that *it was not good*.

It has been asserted that remedies were never administered internally. It may be true to a large extent; but as an absolute statement it is certainly a mistake. Just what the simples were I never learned, as the doctors were very chary of saying aught concerning the secrets of the profession, unless they were liberally paid. Of external treatments, other than that already described, a few means may be specified. Cauterising was not infrequent. It was done by inserting a bit of the stalk of the *achillea millefolium*, about an inch long, in the skin and setting fire to the exposed end, and allowing it to burn down into the flesh. Sometimes several pieces were inserted near each other at once. Blistering was produced by rubbing the skin with the bruised leaves of an acrid plant, the name of which I never knew. Blood-letting was accomplished by applying the lips directly and sucking the blood through the skin; or the skin was scarified with a knife, and the blood drawn by means of a horn prepared for that purpose.

In treating wounds, contusions and sprains, such as are of frequent occurrence, some of the doctors were quite skillful. The same ceremonies as already described were of course had, but the subsequent treatment seemed to be more intelligent. Amputation was unknown; in fact, there was a deep-seated, superstitious prejudice against maiming of any kind. Broken bones were sometimes well set. Probing and the extraction of foreign bodies from wounds were not much practiced. Major North, who commanded for several years the Pawnee scouts in the service of the Government, and is in all respects well qualified to pronounce an opinion, while expressing unbounded contempt for their general clinical practice, stated to me that he would prefer the treat-

ment of a good Pawnee doctor for a wound to the care of an ordinary surgeon. Among others he related the following remarkable cures effected by one of these doctors:

In July, 1867, the horse of one of his Indian scouts fell while running a race near Fort Sedgwick, on the upper Platte. The rider was thrown violently, his thigh broken and hip dislocated. He was at once sent to the military hospital and kept under treatment for several weeks. The dislocation could not be restored, nor was the fracture healed, and the case was given over as hopeless. The thigh was then swollen to enormous size and badly inflamed. At the invalid's urgent request Major North sent him by railroad home to the Pawnee reserve, to die—as he supposed. But in the ensuing December the man returned to the command and resumed his duties, with no mark of his injuries except a slight shortening of the leg. In June, 1869, while serving in General Carr's command on the Republican, the hand and fore arm of another scout were badly shattered by the accidental discharge of a carbine. The wound was cared for by a surgeon, who advised amputation. To this the Indian would not consent. In the hardships of active service the hurt could not be properly treated; in a short time the patient began to decline and the wound filled with maggots. This man also was sent home, in an army wagon to Fort McPherson, and thence by railroad, to all appearance to die. The following November, however, he had recovered with the practical loss of the use of three fingers. Both these men were restored by Pawnee doctors after the cases were pronounced hopeless. One further instance will illustrate the usual surgical quackery prevalent among the doctors: In 1874, *Pit'-a-le-shar-u*, head chief of the tribe, was wounded in the thigh by a revolver. The physician at the agency did not consider the hurt dangerous, and under his care the chief was progressing favorably. But unfortunately, one of the doctors advised that the treatment must be changed. The chief consented, and he at once proceeded to plaster over the affected part with a heavy coating of moist clay. This of course stopped suppuration and brought on a fever, from the effects of which the chief soon died. Examples of such malpractice were only too common.

The materia medica of the doctors was nominally quite extensive. Considerable time was apparently spent in searching for and preparing their drugs. Fossil bones of certain kinds were carefully sought and preserved. The *Artemisia Ludoviciana*, *Acorus Calamus*, *Monarda Fistulosa* and *Punctata*, *Mentha Canadensis*, and many other herbs and roots were esteemed for their real or fancied virtues. Some herbs were gen-

erally known and used outside of the profession as specifics. *Artemisia* and *Monarda* were in general use as disinfectants and cosmetics. In the latter use they were bruised or macerated and rubbed over the person, Decoctions of the *Artemisia* were also drunk by women at certain periods. The sedative property of the *Argemone Mexicana* was known, and they were also familiar with the cathartic qualities of some plants.

The charges made for treatment, if not previously stipulated, depended somewhat upon the issue. If successful, and the head of the convalescent's family was able, the charges were sometimes quite exorbitant, amounting in the aggregate to several ponies. If unsuccessful, they were moderate, and sometimes nothing at all was received. Doctors occasionally became very wealthy by their practice. This fact was no doubt a provocation to some to endeavor to enter the profession as an easy method of securing a living.

One hygienic usage the Pawnees (as also many other tribes) had, that no doubt did much to counteract the prejudicial influences of their uncleanly mode of life. In slight indisposition, and frequently in health, the vapor bath was resorted to. A small framework of withes, about six feet in diameter and four in height, was built. Several of these might at any time be seen in different directions in a village. Whenever any one wished to enjoy a bath, several large heated stones were placed in one of these frames, and the framework covered heavily with blankets or skins. The person then crept within, taking along a vessel full of water. By sprinkling this slowly upon the stones, the interior was soon filled with dense steam, which might be enjoyed as long as desired. The frequent use of these sudatories produced most beneficial results in maintaining and stimulating the activity of the secretory system.

Women spared no effort in caring for their husbands and children during sickness. Each morning and evening in pleasant weather they would carry them out of the lodge to enjoy the sunlight, assist them in changing positions, endeavor to gratify every momentary caprice, and prepare any delicacy they could to tempt their appetite. There is no doubt that this last often aggravated sickness. Children, particularly when ailing, were kept alternately stuffing and vomiting to their manifest detriment. As long as an invalid could eat, there was supposed to be hope, and so there was a natural tendency to keep offering, and even urging food. Women, as a rule, did not when sick receive as solicitous attention, though instances were by no means wanting of men showing

tender attention to invalid wives. It has been charged that men have been known to drag away sick wives when helpless, and leave them in out of the way places to languish unattended; but this, if true, is only of recent occurrence. Aside from this consideration of affection, there was some reason for a husband receiving more care in sickness than a wife; for to a wife the death of her husband might entail the temporary loss of home, while the husband might expect easily to replace a deceased wife.

Some of the foregoing details, as their proneness to indulgences of the appetite, and the extreme facility with which they suffered themselves to be duped by the shallow trickery of the merest charlatans, are not attractive traits in Pawnee character. They are, however, not peculiar to the Pawnees alone, but are common to all forms of Indian life; and the only wonder is that when controlled to such extent as they were by these practices, they should have succeeded in developing and retaining the many nobler traits that they possessed. At a future day some further facts may be presented in another paper, and with it this series, so far as relates directly to Pawnee manners and history, will be closed.

JOHN B. DUNBAR

¹ A friend, who has had much experience with the Indians of the Southwest, informed me that he is inclined to believe that the Lipans of Mexico are of Pawnee stock. They have, in times past, exchanged frequent hospitalities with the Wichitas, or Pawnee Picts, and the two understand each others' dialect readily. The name Lipans he explains as *li'-pa-ni's*, i. e., *the Pawnees*. This derivation is interesting, and so far as a single word can afford evidence, is very satisfactory. The clue at least deserves careful investigation, and may lead to important results in determining the remoter ethnological relations of the Pawnees. Unfortunately I have not been able after repeated efforts to obtain any vocabulary of the Lipan language by which the worth of the conjecture might be finally judged. If such kinship does really exist, though the Pawnees themselves make no such claim, it would suffice to explain the fact of their apparent familiarity with the geography of the country toward Mexico.

PITALESHARU—CHIEF OF THE PAWNEES

The family of Pitalesharu has long been eminent in the Cau'-i band of the Pawnee tribe. As nearly as can be ascertained, Pitalesharu, the subject of this sketch, was born in 1823, and throughout his entire life he was a fine example of the true Indian. His father, of the same name, gained a wide notoriety in his day for the heroism and energy he displayed in endeavoring to suppress the custom of human sacrifices in the Ski'-di band of the tribe. From him the son inherited a character marked by great earnestness and honesty, and singularly devoid of aught that savored of pretension. In early life he was naturally ambitious of position and influence, but sought them by the only legitimate means, personal prowess. Frequent stories have been rife in the tribe illustrative of his youthful intrepidity. The exact truth of many of these is now unattainable, and some are no doubt apocryphal. The reality of the following, however, is reasonably certain, as it is current among the Ski'-di themselves. After the resolute measures of Pitalesharu's father the offering of human sacrifices by this band to the morning star (*ho-pir'-i-kuts*), as a public ceremonial, was discontinued; but on a few occasions the inhuman rite was repeated unbeknown to the remainder of the tribe. Being informed of this, Pitalesharu immediately headed a movement for its entire abolition, and persisted in his effort till successful, though thereby he incurred the violent resentment of the whole Ski'-di band. Once he thwarted a contemplated immolation after the preliminaries were already begun by direct personal interference. Amid an angry throng of Ski'-di braves, whose bows were drawn and guns actually raised, he commanded a cessation of further proceedings, and secured it.

So generally were his merits recognized that on the death of the first chief of the tribe in 1852, Pitalesharu, by a sort of compromise between the son of the deceased, the rightful heir to the head chieftaincy, and the second chief who also aspired to the position, was chosen first chief. From that time, relinquishing all other aims, he made the promoting of the welfare of the whole tribe the one purpose of his life. Rightly discerning that the whites were the great power he continued the policy of his predecessor and sought by a consistent, honorable course in all relations with them to conciliate their friendship and interest in his people. *Ca'-riks-ta-ka tüt-ä-ru-rük-ta'-pi-di-hu-ru*, "The white people I love," was a frequent expression with him. He was the most prominent of the tribe in negotiating the treaty of 1858, and accompanied by several chiefs, visited Washington in connection

with its ratification. The honorable treatment he received while there was a source of great satisfaction to him ever afterwards. In his later days he was much pained that when chiefs from other tribes, whose only claim to notice was their hostility, were permitted to visit the seat of the Government, he was no longer invited. On one such occasion he remarked, "If I were only to perpetrate some outrage, as he (Spotted Tail) has done, I should be asked to go; but now, because a friend, I am neglected." Unfortunately the keen sarcasm of the observation was too true. It was mainly through his advice and cooperation that the companies of Pawnee scouts were enlisted and maintained several years in the service of the United States for the protection of the line of the Pacific Railroad, and for other operations against the hostile Dakotas.

When the proposal was made for the removal of the tribe from their reserve in Nebraska to the Indian Territory in 1872, he first spoke unfavorably of it; believing that they had already made sufficient concessions in giving up their vast domain under former treaties. Still he seemed to realize fully that it was becoming extremely difficult for the tribe to continue where they were, and at times was much dejected in view of it. "Aha," he once said to a friend, "every way I turn I see the white man crowding upon me." Accordingly, he sent his son, *Laru*"-*cūk-ā-le-shar-u* (Sun Chief), to examine the proposed locality, and after hearing his report he seemed more favorably inclined, but still hesitated. The agitators who advised the removal, fearing that his influence would finally be cast against them and defeat the scheme, are charged with having procured his death. In the summer of 1874, while on his way early one morning from the agency to the village, he was wounded in the thigh by a pistol shot. The common report makes the shot purely accidental from his own pistol; but it is quite confidently asserted, also, that the shot was from another hand and with malicious intent. The wound was not considered dangerous, but, under the perverse treatment of a medicine man, gangrene set in and death ensued. Immediately after the tribe was hurried away to the Territory.

In person Pitalesharu was well developed, standing slightly over six feet. Though not compactly built, his presence was fine, and he possessed great physical powers. His face was deeply pitted by small-pox, from which he suffered in 1838, and his features were large and very expressive. The accompanying engraving affords an excellent likeness of him as he appeared during his later years when in full dress. When young he was extremely vain of his personal appearance, and spent much in elaborate costumes. This fondness for dress he retained in some degree through life.

The engraving represents him in his most finished toilet. The headdress and trail of eagle's feathers, as has been stated elsewhere, is a tribal mark, and as such he took special pride in it. The other parts of his costume are very finely wrought, but by no means so gaudy as might often be seen.

In character he was throughout a most noteworthy man. His elevation to the dignity of first chief at the age of twenty-nine years seems to have contributed much toward maturing and giving final stamp to his subsequent career. Endowed by nature with great abilities, he thence-forward employed them steadfastly in advancing the best interests of his people. So entirely did he identify himself with them that he always spoke of their common interests in the first person. His name, which had been assumed when quite young, he wished should be understood as indicating somewhat of the position he aimed to occupy among them, i. e., *pit'-ā-le-shar-u*, a chief of men. (It will be observed that philologically this name is the exact equivalent of the choice Homeric epithet, *αρχὴ ἀνδρῶν*). Though in some special relations one or two other chiefs wielded greater influence, yet they uniformly deferred to him as the chief. To those not well acquainted with the tribe, his quiet and imperturbable demeanor sometimes carried the impression that he was deficient in force and decision. Wisely he preferred to influence his tribe usually by suggestion and persuasion, and so skillful was he in the appliance of these means that he oftentimes controled without his presence or desires being felt; but when occasion required he could easily assume imperial attitude and authority. As an orator he excelled. In speaking he was deliberate; his manner was dignified and graceful, and his words commanded fixed attention. When advocating a cause in which he was specially enlisted, he could become passionately earnest and impressive. His disposition, as already intimated, was eminently humane, and his conciliatory manners made his chieftaincy a period of general quiet and friendliness in tribal affairs. The government agents always found in him a discreet and generous counsellor, and an active co-worker in all measures of reform in the administration of their official duties. In personal intercourse he was dignified, but affable. When with intimates he was often humorous and jovial, and many anecdotes and bon-mots attributed to him are still in circulation in the tribe.

Pit'-ā-le-shar-u tuks-te'-sa-kīt-au-ī tu'-ra kīt-u a we'-tuks-ta-ri-kuts;
 "Pitalesharu ruled all the bands, and was (confessedly) a great man,"
 was his brief but expressive encomium from the lips of a *Skī'-di* brave.

JOHN B. DUNBAR

CENTRES OF PRIMITIVE MANUFACTURE IN GEORGIA

In the selection of sites for the manufacture of objects and implements for domestic use, war, hunting and fishing, the primitive peoples of this region were mainly influenced by the inherent advantages of localities. Facile access to the raw material and to food and water, and opportunity for disposing of the manufactured articles, entered largely into the calculations of the aboriginal artificers, and determined their particular fields of operation.

While it is true that the Indians generally were capable of fabricating such implements, utensils and ornaments of stone, clay, bone, shell, wood and copper as were in common use among them, it is equally certain that in each community or tribe there were individuals possessing unusual skill and experience, who in a great degree monopolized the manufacture of given objects, and were regarded in the light of special workmen and traders in their particular products. By them were large stocks of manufactured articles frequently accumulated, and lodged for safe-keeping in the ground in localities known only to the fabricators, whence they could be taken and offered for barter as occasion required. Sometimes the spade or the plough-share even now uncovers these neglected hoards. When the demand at home proved insufficient for the consumption of them, long journeys were undertaken by these artificers that they might distribute their merchandise to distant peoples, and in exchange bring back articles desired by the members of the communities to which they belonged. The avocation of the primitive manufacturer and the aboriginal merchantman was thus often united in the same individual. His occupation at home was recognized as useful and honorable, and when abroad upon his commercial expeditions the knowledge of his mission, and a desire to procure his manufactured articles, secured for him a welcome among and hospitable treatment by the tribes visited. To him was free passage accorded through the territory of strange peoples. Such recognition of the importance and services of the primitive workman and trader is worthy of note. By means of streams and well-defined trails trade relations were established with distant peoples, and the products of special localities widely disseminated. Rivers at that remote period, being not only the great sources whence supplies for subsistence were obtained, but also the

marked highways for inter-tribal and commercial communication, we are not surprised at the manifest tokens of former life and labor still existent at various points in their vicinity.

As an illustration of the establishment and maintenance for centuries of factories for the manufacture of objects requisite for successful hunting and fishing, we refer to the traces of numerous and extensive open-air workshops along both banks of the Savannah river, where it laves the counties of Richmond, Columbia, Lincoln and Elbert in Georgia, and the opposite counties in South Carolina. Here milky-quartz, chert, jasper, green-stone and soap-stone abound. The materials from which certain objects were to be fashioned were at hand, and the supply was practically inexhaustible. The Savannah river and its numerous tributaries were filled with fishes. Its islands and margins, adjacent forests and dependent swamps afforded ample cover for game of various sorts. At that early period the woods and waters of this region were far more replete with animal life than they are at present. Then the Savannah was a limpid stream. At appointed seasons the shad and sturgeon ascended and descended in countless numbers, while all the year perch, bream, catfish, trout, suckers, garfish, sunfish, eels and other varieties of fishes dwelt in abundance. These waters teemed also with turtles and mussels, which constituted favorite articles of food among the primitive peoples of this region. The buffalo, the black bear, the deer, the raccoon, the opossum, the wild cat, the wolf, the mink, the otter, the beaver, the squirrel, the rabbit, and other wild animals, the wild turkey, the eagle, the fish-hawk, the owl and various birds had here their habitats. Reptiles—some sorts of which were eaten—swam in the waters and crawled beneath the shadows of the forests. The mulberry, plum, haw, crab-apple and other native fruits and berries yielded their annual tribute, while from the nuts of the walnut and hickory trees were obtained generous supplies of oil.

It was a region quite attractive to man in a state of nature. The soil, too, was fertile, and maize could be successfully cultivated. Here under temperate skies the battle for life was not severe. Intermediate the mountain ranges of Cherokee, Georgia, on the one hand, and the sterile, pine-barren belt, running parallel with the coast, on the other, this territory was well suited for the convenient abode of primitive peoples. Many are the indications that it was occupied for a very long time by an aboriginal population by no means insignificant.

That the native tribes of the interior resorted to the banks of the Savannah and its tributaries to hunt and fish, is attested by frequent

and large refuse piles, and by the statements of the early white settlers. With a view, therefore, to easy subsistence, companionship and a ready manufacture and sale of articles and implements at their very doors, it must be admitted that the primitive workers in stone were wise in here locating their open-air workshops. Surrounded by multitudes, both friends and strangers, engaged in the capture of birds, animals and fishes, the demand for arrow and spear points and sinkers was necessarily continuous and extensive. The loss and destruction of such objects must have been constant and great. Hence active manufacture was requisite, especially during the seasons set apart for hunting and fishing, to supply the waste thus occasioned. Then, too, upon their departure, the dwellers in districts devoid of stone were anxious to procure and carry to their homes a convenient store of these barbs.

Thus year by year were numbers engaged in this labor acquiring a degree of skill and a rapidity in manufacture born of an accurate knowledge of material and constant practice. The precise localities where they chipped the quartz, chert and jasper, and perforated and notched the soap-stone sinkers are still apparent, covered with fragments, chips and wasters. And when the products of manufacture accumulated beyond present and local demands, then arose the necessity for long journeys among neighboring nations.

While along the coast may occasionally be seen nuclei or parent blocks of jasper, transported from a distance and kept to be manufactured into implements, and while at occasional points, even amid the depths of the swamps in Southern Georgia, may still be noticed traces of small open-air workshops, it appears highly probable that the Indians inhabiting the lower Savannah and the sea islands and adjacent territory were largely supplied with stone objects, brought by traders from the open-air workshops we have mentioned. As a general rule, the arrow and spear points, celts and grooved axes found in the coast region are of fine material and excellent manufacture. This suggests and encourages the belief that these primitive merchantmen brought with them upon their trading expeditions articles well selected, attractive to the eye, and calculated to command the best price by way of exchange. From the dwellers near the salt water were obtained beautiful shells of the ocean, large drinking cups made from conchs, beads, gorgets, shell ornaments and shell money. This interchange of commodities was extensive and obtained from a remote antiquity. By means of long rivers, traversing vast regions and emptying into the sea, were these trade relations most easily conducted.

Geographically considered, the location of primitive factories in the region we have indicated was very judicious. The territory permeated by the Savannah was very considerable. The tributaries of that river, capable of navigation by canoes from single trees, were neither insignificant nor infrequent. The population cormorant along the banks was considerable, and when the mouth of the river was reached the network of inlets afforded ample opportunity for communicating by water with communities widely separated. The outer islands guarding the coasts of Georgia and South Carolina, and the headlands where this primitive population delighted to congregate, were thus rendered accessible to the aboriginal traders. In the light of well-authenticated observations, it appears improper to assign bounds to the peregrinations, by land and water, of these merchant manufacturers of the olden time. We have taken from one grave a copper implement, evidently from the Lake Superior region; beads and drinking cups made from shells native to the Gulf of Mexico, and stone implements, the materials of which must have been transported from great distances.

Presuming upon an experience by no means limited, and after frequent and careful examinations, we are persuaded that we can in many instances designate with confidence the locality where, on the middle and upper Savannah, many forms of chipped and polished relics were manufactured, which have been found on the sea-islands and in the territory of Southern Georgia adjacent to the mouth of that river. Despite a similarity in form, a unity of design, and an approved choice of material for the fabrication of objects of a particular class, to the practiced eye, and to one critically conversant with the archaeological products of particular localities, there appear certain ear-marks or indicia, which proclaim quite emphatically not only the home of the material, but the habitat and the touch of the artificer. It is curious and interesting to trace and recognize the positive proofs of these trade relations among these primitive peoples, and to observe with what confidence the origin of the bartered article—alien in the locality where found—may often be conjectured.

We regard these open-air workshops along the line of the Savannah river as the places where were manufactured, and that for centuries, very many of the barbs, celts and grooved axes used not only by the peoples who dwelt in that region, and who resorted thither for supplies of fishes and game, but also by the tribes of southern and south-eastern Georgia and southern Carolina. With regard to the manufacture of sinkers, both perforated and notched, made of soap-stone, these primitive workmen seem to have enjoyed quite a monopoly. During periods

when these riparian abodes were thronged by multitudes from a distance, busily engaged in capturing and preparing for transportation to their homes supplies of fishes, did these artificers reap their richest harvests.

What we have affirmed with regard to the open-air workshops on the Savannah, as centres of manufacture and distribution, may be repeated with equal truth in regard to similar points of fabrication on the Oconee and Ocmulgee rivers. Hence were procured manufactured articles of like character, which answered the needs of those inhabiting the banks of those streams, and of the Alatomaha river and the sea islands adjacent to its mouth. Very marked are the traces of open-air workshops along the line of the Flint, the southern Chattahoochee and the Appalachianicola rivers. Here was opened up a new field for demand and supply, reaching down as far as the Gulf coast. Most attractive are the manufactured products of this region. Nothing can excel in beauty and brilliancy the chipped objects of variegated and striped jaspers.

About two miles northeast of Forrest Station, on the Macon and Western Railway, a ledge of soap-stone crops out, and here was an extensive pre-historic factory of vessels from this material. From the quantities of broken utensils still littering the locality, it is manifest that the manufacture must have been long continued and great, far exceeding any possible local demand.

While to the women was generally committed the fabrication of fictile ware, while the abundance of clay in almost every habitable locality afforded ample opportunity for fashioning vessels of this material, and while their manufacture was very general among the Georgia tribes, we nevertheless find sites, assuring us of the fact that the potter's trade was there carried on to an extent far beyond the requirements of the neighborhood. Clay of special fineness and tenacity, and a ready supply of small gravel and of mussel shells, to be pounded and kneaded into the paste, favored the liberal practice of the ceramic art, and encouraged a trade in such articles as were fashioned thereby.

We might extend these remarks, but enough, we think, has been said to justify the suggestion that among these primitive peoples there were centres of manufacture, and that the fabrication of implements and utensils was not always limited to the immediate wants of the individual or of the community, but was frequently prosecuted as an independent avocation, and utilized largely in the interest of trade and for private gain.

CHARLES C. JONES, JR.

BATTLE OF KING'S MOUNTAIN

OCTOBER 7, 1780

Reprinted from a rare Tract in the possession of the Shelby Family of Kentucky.

Communicated by J. Warren S. Dey of New York City.

TO THE PUBLIC

During the last year, W. M. C. Preston, a grandson of the late Col. Wm. Campbell, made a publication in the newspapers, under his signature, and headed, "Colonel Campbell and Governor Shelby." The professed object of this address was to claim for his ancestor, as commander of the American forces at the battle of King's Mountain, the chief honours of that victory, and to controvert some statements relative to that subject, made in some of my private letters, to the late Governor Sevier, of Tennessee, which letters came to the knowledge of the world and of Mr. Preston, by the inadvertent publication of them by the son of Governor Sevier after the death of his father. In the course of his address, Mr. Preston has thought proper to question my veracity—to deny the statements made in those letters, and to impute to me the most dishonorable motives and purposes.

I paused and hesitated long as to the course I ought to pursue. Conscious of my integrity, I felt a proud confidence that my reputation could not be affected by the proofs and animadversions of Mr. Preston—that it was placed above the reach of calumny and all attempts to dishonor it. But the labored efforts that have been used to give the most extensive circulation and the most permanent effect to the publication of Mr. Preston, have determined me to reply to it, lest

by my silence I might be considered as acquiescing in the justice of his assertions and imputations.

It is with the most sincere and heartfelt regret that I undertake the task, because in the course of my defence it will be necessary for me to speak of circumstances, which I had rather have seen consigned to oblivion—circumstances calculated in some degree to affect the fame of Col. Campbell, and perhaps to wound the feelings of many of his numerous and most respectable relatives and connections. But the unexpected publications of my private letters to an old friend, and the attack consequently made on me by Mr. Preston, compel me to defend myself; and painful and invidious as the task may be, I owe it to myself, to my posterity, and my country to perform it. I could have wished most earnestly to have been spared this development, but circumstances seem not to permit it.

If in the course of this investigation facts should be disclosed injurious to the fame of Col. Campbell, let it be remembered that I have been forced into it by imperious necessity. Sacred as the memory of Col. Campbell may be, it will be recollected that I also have a character and reputation which are dear to me, and which it is one of my highest duties to maintain and defend. The history of my life has never before been stained by an imputation of falsehood and dishonour. I am now in my seventy-third year, and almost the only object of worldly ambition that remains between me and the grave is that my memory may descend untarnished to my posterity and to my country—that country which

has appreciated my services, perhaps too highly, and with a bountiful and generous hand heaped upon me rewards and honours far beyond my poor deserving. But how must she blush at my name and the recollections of those honours which her mistaken gratitude has conferred upon me, if I am guilty of the falsehood and defamation with which Mr. Preston has charged me ! I am not guilty, my countrymen, and before any other tribunal than yours I would have scorned to reply to the unworthy accusations with which I am assailed.

To render the subject more intelligible and clear, and to show the grounds upon which I have made the statements contained in my private letters, I shall attempt to give some account of the battle of King's Mountain and the circumstances which led to it.

Upon the defeat of Gen. Gates and the American army at the battle of Camden, on the 16th of August, 1780, the Southern States were almost entirely abandoned to the enemy. The intelligence of that disastrous affair, and the defeat of Gen. Sumpter which soon followed, spread universal consternation and alarm. All the bodies of militia that were in arms through the country were compelled to fly before the enemy. Some of these detachments (part of which I commanded) fled towards the mountains, and were hotly pursued by Maj. Fergusson of the British army with a strong force. Failing in his attempt to intercept their retreat, he took post at Gilbert Town. At that place he paroled a prisoner (one Samuel Philips, a distant connection of mine), and instructed him to inform the officers on the Western

waters that if they did not desist from their opposition to the British arms, and take protection under his standard, he would march his army over the mountains, hang their leaders, and lay their country waste with fire and sword. Philips lived near to my residence, and came directly to me with this intelligence. I then commanded the militia of Sullivan county, North Carolina. In a few days I went 50 or 60 miles to see Col. Sevier, who was the efficient commander of Washington county, N. Carolina, to inform him of the message I had received, and to concert with him measures for our defence. After some consultation, we determined to march with all the men we could raise and attempt to surprise Fergusson by attacking him in his camp, or at any rate, before he was prepared for us. We accordingly appointed a time and place of rendezvous. It was known to us that some two or three hundred of the militia, who had been under the command of Col. McDowell, and were driven by the success of the enemy from the lower country, were then on the Western waters, and mostly in the county of Washington, N. C. We saw some of their officers before we parted ; Col. Sevier engaged to give notice to these refugees, and to bring them into our measure. On my part, I undertook to procure the aid and co-operation of Col. Wm. Campbell, of Washington county, Virginia, and the men of that county, if practicable.

Having made the arrangements with Sevier, I returned home immediately, and devoted myself to all the necessary preparations for our intended enterprise. I wrote to Col. Campbell, informing him

what Sevier and I had agreed on, and urged him to join us with all the men he could raise. This letter I sent express to him at his own house, forty miles distant, by my brother, Moses Shelby. Col. Campbell wrote me for answer that he had determined to raise what men he could, and march down by Flower Gap to the Southern borders of Virginia, to oppose Lord Cornwallis when he approached that State;—that he still preferred this course to the one proposed by Sevier and myself, and therefore declined agreeing to meet us. Of this I notified Col. Sevier by an express on the next day, and immediately issued an order calling upon all the militia of the county to hold themselves in readiness to march at the time appointed. I felt, however, some disappointment at the reply of Col. Campbell. The Cherokee towns were not more than 80 or 100 miles from the frontiers of my county, and we had received information that these Indians were preparing for a formidable attack upon us in the course of a few weeks; I was therefore unwilling that we should take away the whole disposable force of our counties at such a time; and without the aid of the militia under Col. Campbell's command, I feared that we could not otherwise have a sufficient force to meet Fergusson. I therefore wrote a second letter to Col. Campbell, and sent the same messenger back with it immediately, to whom I communicated at large our views and intentions, and directed him to urge them on Col. Campbell. This letter and messenger produced the desired effect, and Campbell wrote me that he would meet us at the time and place appointed. If

Mr. Preston and his relations have been as careful of these letters as they have been of some others, and will publish them, they will prove the correctness of this statement.

It surely cannot detract from the merits of Col. Campbell that this expedition was not set on foot by him but by others. He lived in Virginia, in a state of comparative security, and was preparing to aid his own State when she should be invaded. We lived in North Carolina, a great part of which State was prostrate before the British arms. We were nearer to the enemy, and we were threatened. We therefore determined to anticipate the invasion and vengeance meditated against us, and to strike the first blow. To do this effectually, we asked for and received the aid of the nearest county in a neighboring State. This was surely the natural and ordinary course of things. The 25th day of September, 1780, at Wataga, were the time and place appointed for our rendezvous. Col. Sevier had succeeded in engaging in our enterprise Col. Charles McDowell and many of the refugees before mentioned, and when assembled, our forces were as follows: "Col. Wm. Campbell, with 400 men from Washington county, Virginia;" Colonel John Sevier with 240 men from Washington county, North Carolina; Col. Charles McDowell with 160 men from the counties of Burke and Rutherford, who had fled before the enemy to the Western waters; and 240 men from Sullivan county, North Carolina under my command. On the next day (26th of the month) we began our march, crossed the mountains, and on the 30th were joined by Col. Benjamin

Cleaveland with 350 men from the counties of Wilkes and Surry, North Carolina. The little disorders and irregularities which began to prevail among our undisciplined troops, created much uneasiness in the commanding officers, the Colonels commanding regiments. We met in the evening and consulted about our future operations. It was resolved to send to headquarters for a general officer to command us, and that in the meantime we would meet in council every day to determine on the measures to be pursued and appoint one of our own body to put them in execution. I was not satisfied with this course, as I thought it calculated to produce delay, when expedition and dispatch were all important to us. We were then in 16 or 18 miles of Gilbert Town, where we supposed Fergusson to be. I suggested these things to the council, and then observed to the officers that we were all North Carolinians except Col. Campbell, who was from Virginia; that I knew him to be a man of good sense and warmly attached to the cause of his country; that he commanded the largest regiment, and that if they concurred with me we would, until a general officer arrived from headquarters, appoint *him* to command us and march immediately against the enemy. To this proposition some one or two said, "Agreed." No written minute or record was made of it. I made the proposition to silence the expectations of Col. McDowell to command us, he being the commanding officer of the district we were then in, and had commanded the armies of militia assembled in that quarter all the summer before against the same enemy.

He was a brave and patriotic man, but we considered him too far advanced in life and too inactive for the command of such an enterprise as we were then engaged in. I was sure he would not serve under a younger officer from his own State, and hoped that his feelings would in some degree be saved by the appointment of Col. Campbell. In this way, and upon my suggestion, was Col. Campbell raised to the command, and not on account of any superior talents or experience he was supposed to possess. He had no previous acquaintance with any of the colonels except myself, nor had he at that time acquired any experience or distinction in war, that we knew of. Col. McDowell, who had the good of his country more at heart than any title of command, submitted to what was done but observed that, as he could not be permitted to command, he would be the messenger to go to headquarters for the general officer. He accordingly started immediately, leaving his men under his brother, Maj. Joseph McDowell, and Colonel Campbell assumed the chief command. He was, however, to be regulated and directed by the determinations of the colonels, who were to meet in council every day.

On the morning after the appointment of Col. Campbell, we proceeded towards Gilbert Town, but found that Fergusson, apprised of our approach, had left there a few days before. On the next night, it was determined, in the council of officers, to pursue him unremittingly with as many of our troops as could be well armed and well mounted, leaving the weak horses and footmen to follow on as fast as they could. We accord-

ingly started about light next morning with 90 men thus selected. Continuing diligently our pursuit all that day, we were joined at the Cow-pens on the 6th by Col. John Williams of S. C. and several field officers, with about 400 men. Learning from him the situation and distance of the enemy, we traveled all that night and next day through heavy rains, and came up with them about three o'clock in the afternoon of the 7th of October. They were encamped on an eminence called King's Mountain, extending from east to west, which on its summit was about 500 or 600 yards long, and 60 or 70 broad. Our men were formed for battle as stated in the report of the action, made out and signed by some of the officers, and lately published by Mr. Preston. This report, however, omits to mention that the men who had belonged to Col. McDowell's command, which had been considerably augmented during the march, formed a part of the right wing under Sevier. Col. Campbell's regiment and my own composed the centre—his on the right and mine on the left. The right wing or column was led by Col. Sevier and Major Winston, the left by Colonels Cleaveland and Williams, and each of these wings was about as strong as Campbell's regiment and mine united. Our plan was to surround the mountain and attack the enemy on all sides. In this order and with this view, we marched immediately to the assault. The attack was commenced by the two centre columns, which attempted to ascend at the eastern end of the mountain. The battle here became furious and bloody, and many that belonged to Sevier's column were drawn

into the action at this point, to sustain their comrades. In the course of the battle we were repeatedly repulsed by the enemy and driven down the mountain. In this succession of repulses and attacks, and in giving succour to the points hardest pressed, much disorder took place in our ranks; the men of my column, of Campbell's column, and great part of Sevier's, were mingled together in the confusion of the battle. Toward the latter part of the action the enemy made a fierce and gallant charge upon us from the eastern summit of the mountain, and drove us near to the foot of it. The retreat was so rapid that there was great danger of its becoming a rout. While I was attempting to rally the men at a distance of about 200 yards from where the scene of action had been, I looked down the mountain and saw Col. Campbell sitting on his bald face black horse, about 200 yards further off, apparently looking right at me. He was in the same trim (with his coat off) that he had put himself in to fight the battle. I stopped my horse and raised myself up in my stirrups, to show him that I saw him. He did not move while I looked at him. Our men were soon rallied and turned back upon the enemy, who in a few minutes after we again came into close action with them, gave way. We gained the eastern summit of the mountain, and drove those who had been opposed to us along the top of it, until they were forced down the western end, about 100 yards, in a crowd, to where the other part of their line had been contending with Cleaveland and Williams, who were maintaining their ground below them. It was here that

Fergusson, the British commander, was killed, and a white flag was soon after hoisted by the enemy in token of surrender. They were ordered to throw down their arms, which they did, and surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion. It was some time before a complete cessation of the firing on our part could be effected. Our men, who had been scattered in the battle, were continually coming up, and continued to fire, without comprehending, in the heat of the moment, what had happened; and some, who had heard that at Buford's defeat the British had refused quarters to many who asked it, were willing to follow that bad example. Owing to these causes, the ignorance of some and the disposition of others to retaliate, it required some time and some exertion on the part of the officers to put an entire stop to the firing. After the surrender of the enemy, our men gave spontaneously three loud and long shouts.

It was not until 15 or 20 minutes after the enemy hoisted the flag of surrender, nor until some minutes after the shouts of our men had announced the victory, that I saw Col. Campbell on the west point of the mountain with his light-colored coat buttoned around him, coming down on foot with three others (all of whom I knew) to where the prisoners were. He came directly to me and stood by my side, and after a short space ordered the prisoners to sit down. He then proposed a second cheer, which, though joined in by many, was neither so general nor so loud as the first.

Before Col. Campbell came up, the

flag of the enemy and the sword of their commanding officer, Dupoister, had been received, not by me, but by my brother, Major Evan Shelby.

About ten o'clock on the day after the battle, I was standing alone, about 40 yards south of the spot where Col. Campbell came to me after the surrender, enjoying the warmth of the sun (for I had been very wet the day before, and was exposed to the cold dew of the mountain all night), when I saw Col. C. leave the line of guards that surrounded the prisoners, and walk slowly towards me, with his sword under his arm, till he came near touching me. He then, in a lower tone of voice than usual, and with a slight smile on his countenance, made the following expression: "Sir, I cannot account for my conduct in the latter part of the action."

An enterprise so daring and a victory so complete were supposed to entitle the officers who had conducted and achieved them, to some testimonials of their country's approbation. The legislature of Virginia voted to Col. Campbell a horse, sword and pistols; and the legislature of North Carolina, at their next session, were pleased to distinguish the services of Col. Sevier, myself and others, by voting to each of us a sword.

Such is the history of the battle of King's Mountain, and of the incidents connected with it, so far as they relate to the present controversy. Of those circumstances which relate to Col. Campbell personally, and which might have a tendency to diminish his reputation, I have seldom spoken, except in confidence, or to those who were previously acquainted with them. I am sure that

I may say, with perfect truth, that I have never spoken of them in a spirit of detraction.

I had long ceased to be a citizen of North Carolina. The swords voted by her had never yet been presented, although years had passed away. Of the one which was voted to me, I had for a long time rarely thought, until about the year 1810, when the prospect of approaching hostilities with G. Britain naturally roused in me ancient feelings, and recollections of our revolutionary war; and when also I learned from a relation of Mr. Preston, that the State of Virginia had given to him, as the representative of Col. Campbell, the elegant sword which had been voted to the latter, for his services at the battle of King's Mountain. These circumstances, and the reflections to which they gave rise, did produce some feelings of emulation and solicitude, and a sense that equal justice had not been done to all who had participated in that memorable achievement.

In this state of mind, my letters bearing date in 1810, were addressed to my old friend and fellow soldier, Col. Sevier. The object of them was to concert with him the means of reminding North Carolina of her ancient promise, and of obtaining those swords which thirty years before had been voted to us as the honorable memorials of our good conduct, and our country's approbation. In the course of this correspondence, after mentioning the magnanimous example which Virginia had given to Carolina, by the honours conferred on the memory of Col. Campbell, I ventured to make some comparison of

the services of Sevier and myself with those of Col. Campbell. I stated in substance that the enterprise which resulted in the battle of King's Mountain, was not set on foot by Col. Campbell but by Sevier and myself, and that some address was necessary to induce him to unite with us. That the greater part of the men who crossed the mountains on that occasion may be fairly said to have been embodied by Sevier and myself; that Col. Campbell was not present in the latter part of the action, or when the enemy surrendered, nor for some minutes after, and that on the next day he apologized to me for his conduct.

These statements are all true within my own knowledge. They are more particularly explained and illustrated in the narrative which I have given above of the battle and the circumstances which led to it. But Mr. Preston has denied them—has impeached my veracity, and imputed to me the vilest and most dishonorable motives. It is yet in my power to establish the truth of these statements by the most respectable and unquestionable testimony. They are verified by the letters of Col. Sevier, written in reply to mine; by the statements of General Thomas Kennedy, Col. John Sawyers, James Cooper, Henry Blevins, John Long, Major William Delaney, Col. Matthew Willoughby, Col. John Sharp, William King, Esq., George Morrison, Jacob Isely, Jacob Bealer, Joseph Bealer, John Peters, Maj. Christopher Taylor, Rev. Felix Earnest, William Willoughby, Robert Elder, the affidavit of Col. Moses Shelby, and a multitude of others that might be added. All of whom either participated in the

battle of King's Mountain or speak from long tradition, and the information of those who did, and who are no more.

In Col. Sevier's letter to me of the 17th of January, 1810, he says: "It is true that Col. Campbell was not within one-quarter of a mile when the enemy surrendered to yourself and me." In another letter of the 27th of August, 1812, when speaking of the battle of King's Mountain, he says: "It is well known you were in the heat of the action. I frequently saw you animating your men to victory; at the surrender you were the first field officer I recollect to have seen. I have no doubt you must recollect Col. Campbell was some considerable distance from that place at that time, and that you and myself spoke on that subject the same evening. I perfectly recollect on my seeing you at the close of the action; that I swore by G—d they had burnt off your hair, for it was much burnt on one side. It is well known by some hundreds in Tennessee that you were Col. on that campaign, and that we were the only persons set on foot the expedition, and had considerable trouble to get Campbell to join us."

Gen. Kennedy (who belonged on that day to Sevier's column) states that he was a captain in the battle of King's Mountain, and fought on the eastwardly quarter of it, where Campbell's regiment was engaged; that he saw me frequently, but does "not recollect to have seen Col. Campbell during the action," etc. In his statement he further says, "I was within sixty or seventy yards of the enemy when they raised the flag, and was close in with them in a minute or

two afterwards, and I well recollect to have seen Col. Shelby there, one of the first men I met with. I remember to have heard several persons enquire for Col. Campbell before he came up, which was, I think, about fifteen minutes after the surrender. I also recollect to have heard it talked of in the army after the action, and for many years after when in conversation with men who were in that battle, that Col. Campbell was not at the surrender for some time after the enemy had laid down their arms."

Col. John Sawyers, than whom there is no man more entitled to credit, as certified by the most respectable and distinguished gentlemen of Tennessee, states that "Isaac Shelby, late Governor of Kentucky, held the command of colonel at the battle of King's Mountain; that I was a captain in his regiment, and know that he first planned the expedition with John Sevier," etc. "He (Shelby) was also among the first at the surrender. I saw him and Col. Sevier when the enemy laid down their arms, but did not see Col. Campbell for some time afterwards. I also state that Maj. Evan Shelby, brother of Isaac, and not Isaac Shelby, Sevier or Campbell, as I have heard that some now state, received the flag and sword. I also state that from this circumstance I was led to think of Col. Campbell at the time, looked for him among the officers, and do believe that if he had been there I would have seen him, and that he did not come up for 15 or 20 minutes after the enemy had laid down their arms and been placed under guard. I also know that it was the general talk at the time, and I have frequently since heard it

spoken of by men who were in the action, as an indisputable fact that he was not in the latter part of the action or at the surrender. I also recollect distinctly to have heard it said amongst the officers before we left the mountain, as well as on the way home and since, that Campbell himself admitted it, and in a private conversation with Col. Shelby on the mountain, had said that he could not account for it. I remember to have intended to ask Col. Shelby if this was so, but it has so happened that I have never mentioned this subject to him or him to me."

Maj. William Delaney states that "I was an orderly sergeant in the action of King's Mountain; that I was with Col. Shelby, and rode with him while placing a guard round the enemy after the surrender; that I did not see Col. Campbell in the latter part of the action or at the surrender for some minutes afterward, and that I heard this spoken of at the time as well as since. It is also my belief, from what I understood at the time (although I did not see it myself), that it was Major Evan Shelby, and neither of the four colonels, that received the sword from the British officer in command."

Colonel Moses Shelby states, upon oath, that he was twice wounded in the action on King's Mountain; that he was assisted down to a branch some small distance from the foot of the mountain on the east end, and that he saw Col. Campbell there, sitting on his black horse, this was about the middle of the action, and he knows "Col. Campbell did not leave that place until the battle was over, or until the firing had ceased."

Jacob Bealer states, that he was in Captain Pemberton's company in the battle of King's Mountain, "and amongst the very first at the place of surrender." "The commander asked for our General and gave his sword first to Maj. Evan Shelby, who kept it until Col. Campbell came up which was twenty minutes, and I think longer, afterwards. From the discourse which I heard between Col. Shelby and the British officers, I know that Campbell was not there, and that it was that length of time before he came up."

Joseph Bealer certifies that "I was at the surrender with my brother (Jacob Bealer) at his side, and saw and heard what he had stated in the above certificate, and know them to be true, and have always spoken of them and heard them spoken of by those who were there in this way."

John Peters also states that he "was in Capt. Pemberton's company with Jacob and Joseph Bealer, and amongst the first at the surrender. That I know of my own knowledge that what Jacob Bealer has stated in his certificate, is true—that the enemy surrendered and there was a ring made round them 15 or 20 minutes before I looked up and saw Col. Campbell coming with two or three others down the mountain—this is what I have always heard and never heard it contradicted."

The statements of the other individuals who are above named tend to confirm the same facts. They are subjoined.

With respect to the certificates published by Mr. Preston, I shall leave the public to compare them with the facts I

have stated and form their own judgment. I will only observe, however, that John McCulloch is the only one of those whose statements have been published, that I have had any opportunity of communicating with, and he has certified that he never signed the certificate published as his. The statement which he there makes, "that he saw Col. Campbell at the enemy's markee," etc., is very unimportant and proves nothing. That "markee" was at the east end of the mountain, and 500 or 600 yards from where the enemy surrendered.

The testimonials which I have now exhibited will satisfy the world that the statements contained in my letters are true. I deeply and sincerely regret the necessity that has been cast upon me of discussing in defence of my own character, a subject so delicate and so invidious. It is a controversy that I have not sought—it is one that I would have avoided, if any alternative had been left me. My letters to Col. Sevier were written in all the confidence of a private correspondence with an old friend. I question not the motives that influenced his son to publish them after the death of his father, but certainly it was an event altogether unexpected by me. The circumstances under which those letters were written, the person to whom addressed, and their private and confidential character must convince the world that I did not write them for the purpose of defaming the memory of Col. Campbell, or with any design of giving an invidious publicity to the unpleasant truths which they contain. And if to have spoken the truth require an apology

—if one be due either to the living or the dead, the circumstances of this case amply furnish it; and ought to have mitigated the violence and injustice with which Mr. Preston has assailed me. I do not say this to deprecate the wrath or censure of anyone; for I am conscious of no impropriety and I fear no consequences. Mr. Preston states that I have charged Col. Campbell with cowardice. I have made no such charge. I have stated facts only and cowardice is the inference or construction which he chooses to make. The facts stated, I know to be true, but yet I do not believe that Col. Campbell was a coward. I believe that in the commencement and first part of the action he acted bravely, and that his subsequent conduct was the effect of some unaccountable panic, to which the bravest men are subject. Such at least are the sentiments which I have indulged and cherished; and these combined with my regard for Col. Campbell and his relatives and connections, will not only furnish a ready answer to the question so exultingly asked by Mr. Preston, why I did not long ago denounce his ancestor to the world as a coward and a poltroon?—but will also account for my long and habitual silence on the subject. They will account, too, when taken in conjunction with Col. Campbell's good conduct during a part of the action, for the expressions which Mr. Preston has quoted as used by me in the autograph letter to which he alludes. I can only say that I have no recollection of that letter. I pretend not, however, to doubt its existence since it is affirmed by Mr. Preston and

it having ever been my wish to shield the memory of Col. Campbell's from reproach.

As to the document of curious "character" (the report of the battle, etc., signed by the officers), to which Mr. Preston so triumphantly refers as furnishing contradictions to the statements contained in my letters, it may be remarked that it was not drawn up on King's Mountain, nor until some days after we had left it—that it is nothing more than a brief and hurried account in general terms of the expedition and the battle, drawn up to authenticate the intelligence of our victory and to give tone to public report. This document, inaccurate and indefinite as it is in some particulars, furnishes none of those contradictions, which Mr. Preston has supposed to exist.

To make out one of those supposed contradictions, he quotes that part of it which states, "That the troops upon the right having gained the summit of the eminence, obliged the enemy to retreat along the top of the ridge to where Col. Cleaveland commanded, and were there stopt by his brave men;—a flag was hoisted," etc. Having interpolated, in parenthesis, after the word "right," in the above quotation, the words "Col. Campbell's division," Mr. Preston exclaims, "thus it is given under Col. Shelby's own hand in 1780, that the enemy was routed by the division commanded by Col. Campbell in person." The document authorizes no such conclusion, and it is only rendered plausible from the interpolation which he has made. The truth is, as I have before stated it, that a great part of the column

commanded by Sevier, owing to the heavy fire in front of the two center columns, was drawn into the action on the East end of the mountain, and became mingled and blended with them during the remainder of the action. This fact is proved by the certificates of Messrs. Kennedy, Taylor and Earnest, who belonged to Sevier's column on that day.

"This venerable memoir" is also supposed by Mr. Preston to furnish "a contradiction in terms" to that part of one of my letters to Col. Sevier, where I state "that it may be fairly said, that the great body of men who crossed the mountains on that expedition were raised and embodied by your and my own united exertions." There is, in reality, no contradiction. It is true, as stated in that "memoir," that Col. Campbell brought with him 400 men from Washington County, Va., and that Sevier's regiment and mine consisted of only 240 men each. But when it shall be recollected, as I have before related, how this expedition was set on foot, how by the exertions of Sevier and myself, the refugees were assembled and brought to unite with us, and how the co-operation of Col. Campbell was obtained, I think that I am fully justified in having stated to Sevier "that it may be fairly said that most of the men who crossed the mountains," etc., were embodied by our exertions, or at least that I shall be relieved from that direct contradiction which Mr. Preston supposes must entirely destroy my credibility.

As to the propriety of Mr. Preston's remarks in relation to the newspaper publication in 1812, in which I am repre-

sented as being "conspicuous through the thin veil of a fictitious signature," I refer the reader to a letter addressed to me on that subject by the late Col. Jno. B. Campbell, and my reply to it (Nos. 1 & 2), which I am credibly informed was forwarded to Mr. Preston. I there state that those circumstances relating to Col. Campbell are true, and that they were known to his immediate relatives and friends—yet, that I had no participation whatever in giving publicity to them, but had endeavoured to suppress their circulation. Why I was not then assailed, and why it has been preferred to wait the lapse of so many years, until I am brought to the very margin of the tomb, and hundreds of the then-living witnesses have been "gathered home to their fathers," the public will judge.

Before I conclude, permit me to ask what reasonable motive or inducement I could have had to fabricate falsehoods for the purpose of defaming Col. Campbell? Has my reputation been built up by pulling down that of others? Or has it been plundered from the graves of the dead? Let my country answer these questions—that country that has given me all that I have of name or reputation.

I think I have a right to be considered at least a witness of fair character, one who has some claims upon the confidence of his countrymen, and who is entitled to be heard without prejudice, although it is his painful duty to speak thus publicly and plainly of the dead. History, however, deals with the dead; and this is a subject of history. And although my reluctance at the task is certainly increased by the circumstance that Col.

Campbell is no more, yet it is very probable that I feel myself more privileged to speak on this subject than would be consonant with Mr. Preston's ideas of the sanctity and reverence due to his deceased ancestor, for I was cotemporary of that ancestor, and I shall soon lie down beside him in the grave. My career is run; I feel as though I were almost as nearly connected with the dead as the living; and standing thus beside my grave and between two worlds, I solemnly declare that the facts I have stated in relation to the conduct of Col. Campbell in the battle of King's Mountain are true.

I lament the occasion that has rendered it necessary for me to make this avowal, and to treat of this unpleasant and invidious subject. I now take my final leave of it. I am animated by no spirit of controversy. I have no fears for my reputation, the hardy growth of many years. I can listen undisturbed to the animadversions of Mr. Preston, and nothing shall ever provoke me to engage further in this contest.

ISAAC SHELBY.

April, 1823.

DOCUMENTS

(No. 1)

Colonel John B. Campbell's letter, Hopkinsville, 30th July, 1812.

Sir. I have seen in the Reporter of the 25th inst. a publication signed "Narrator," which has treated the character of my deceased uncle, Gen. William Campbell, with great injustice. So far as this publication and others of the same character have tended to promote your election to the chief Magistracy of the state, they have met my hearty concurrence; no man has felt more

solicitous than myself for your success; but when the bounds of truth are transcended, and the character of a deceased relative, long since in the silent tomb, basely traduced, and his name unnecessarily lugged into this contest, in a manner calculated to dislaurel him, although the scope of the publication may have been intended to promote the cause I approve, I cannot rest patiently without endeavouring to have the ungenerous statement in this publication contradicted. The most prominent of which are, that "Col. Campbell was not in this action except on the first onset," and that he came up about twenty minutes after the enemy had surrendered, and observed to you, "that he could not account for his own conduct in the latter part of the action;" thereby insinuating, that he had cowardly skulked out of danger after the commencement of the action and remained in his snug retreat until danger ceased to exist. I cannot for a moment, sir, entertain the belief that you would give any countenance to a statement calculated to further wound the reputation of Gen. Wm. Campbell, and I am persuaded that "Narrator," who seems to have undertaken to be your biographer, must have derived his information from some other source, but if from you, must have misunderstood you. That Gen. Campbell acted a conspicuous part in the affair of King's Mountain all his fellow-soldiers with whom I have ever conversed, most unequivocally assert; and the Legislature of Virginia, as an evidence of their approbation of his conduct and distinguished gallantry on the occasion, thanked him through the medium of a committee, presented him with a fine horse, elegantly caparisoned, a sword and pistols. That yourself and Col. Sevier acted your parts with bravery, is universally admitted, but that the whole merit of the affair is to be ascribed to you, to the exclusion of others, is going further than history warrants, or fellow-soldiers have asserted.

The great respect I have always entertained for you from the character my friends gave me of you, and that increased by the small acquaintance I cultivated last summer, forbids my believing that you had any knowledge of this publication previous to its appearance. It will therefore give me great pleasure, and no doubt

all the friends of Gen. Campbell, if you would correct the misrepresentations of "Narrator," and through the same medium place my deceased friend's conduct in its proper point of view. I have written to Col. Francis Preston on the subject, and expect from him certificates from persons who served under Gen. Campbell, which I wish not to have occasion to use.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,

Your ob't Serv't,

JOHN B. CAMPBELL.

(No. 2)

Answer to the above letter, August 14th, 1812.

Sir. By last Saturday's mail I received your favour of the 30th ult., relative to a publication which appeared in the Reporter of the 25th of last month.

I assure you, Sir, that the publication appeared without my knowledge or approbation, and that I felt as much surprise and regret upon reading it as could have been felt by you or any one else. I knew not and still am unacquainted with "Narrator," but immediately on seeing that piece, I wrote to the two printers in Frankfort and the Editors of the Globe in Danville, expressing my disapprobation of that production, and requesting them not to republish it in either of their papers.

Col. William Campbell (for he was not a General at King's Mountain) deserved great credit for the manner in which the action was brought on, and for his conduct through great part of it. He was doubtless a brave man, but the boldest may at some luckless moment be confounded; this in my opinion does not detract from his former or subsequent renown. But it is as true as that Heaven and Earth exist, that he was not in the latter part of the action, and that he did apologise to me for it before we left the mountain, and spoke once or twice to me on the subject upon our retreat.

I have rarely mentioned this circumstance except in confidence to his friends. Among this description was old Col. Preston, and your own Father, who had heard something said on the occasion and conversed with me upon it about the latter end of the year 1781. I would not

for the universe detract from the merits of a brother officer long since in the silent tomb, for whose memory I have ever felt a high respect and esteem, and sincerely regret the appearance of that unguarded production, and would say everything consistent with truth to remove the unpleasant sensations it may have occasioned. Perhaps you attach more importance to that anonymous publication than it deserves. If however you should choose to make any comments upon it, unless they go to impeach my veracity or honour, they shall pass without my notice. But I shall regret it extremely, if you should so notice that unauthorised production, as to compel me to express the foregoing sentiments, or exhibit a document in my hands respecting that delicate subject. I should be glad of an interview with you. Will anything lead you to Frankfort? If it should, be so good as to drop me a line.

With great respect, I am, Sir,
your ob't Serv't,

ISAAC SHELBY.

[*Note.* In addition to the foregoing, it may not now be improper to state, that I also requested the editor of the Reporter to publish nothing further relative to Col. Campbell—that if any of Col. C.'s friends wished to publish in reply, first to refer them to me, and I would endeavour to satisfy them. Also that Col. J. B. C. did call on me at Frankfort in pursuance to the request in my letter, when we conversed fully on the subject of the battle of King's Mountain and the conduct of his relative. He expressed his satisfaction, remarked that it was a delicate subject, etc., that it was best to say nothing about it.]

(No. 3)

Extract from Col. Sevier's letter, dated 17th January, 1810, in answer to mine of the 1st of January, 1810, as published.

"It is true that Col. Campbell was not within one quarter of a mile when the enemy surrendered to yourself and me. Without detracting from the merits of Col. Campbell, there were other officers in the battle of King's Mountain, that merited as much notice from their country as himself."

(No. 4)

Extract from a second letter, dated 27th August, 1812.

Speaking of the action of King's Mountain, Col. Sevier says:—"It is well known, you were in the heat of the action. I frequently saw you animating your men to victory. At the surrender you were the first field officer I recollect to have seen. I have no doubt you must recollect Col. Campbell was some considerable distance from that place at that time, and that you and myself spoke on that subject the same evening. I perfectly recollect on my seeing you at the close of the action that I swore by—they had burnt off your hair, for it was much burnt on one side. It is well known by some hundreds in Tennessee, that you were Colonel on that Campaign, and that we were the only persons set on foot the expedition, and had considerable trouble to get Campbell to join us."

(No. 5)

Gen. Thomas Kennedy's Certificate.

I, Thomas Kennedy, of Garrard county in the state of Kentucky, do hereby certify—That I commanded a company of volunteers in the battle of King's Mountain on the 7th of October, 1780, and that I fought in Major McDowell's battalion on the eastwardly quarter of the mountain. I do not recollect to have seen Col. Campbell during the action; he might have been engaged too far off from me. But I well recollect to have seen and heard Col. Shelby at different times, animating and encouraging the men, before we were compelled to retreat, and when the enemy charged and drove us rapidly down to the foot of the mountain, I saw Col. Shelby using great exertions to rally the men, and I believe it was owing to his efforts principally, that they were rallied and turned back upon the enemy; when the firing again commenced most furiously for about ten minutes. The enemy then began to give way in their turn, but continued a scattering fire upon us, until they retreated near to the west end of the mountain (which was from four to six hundred yards), where they surrendered. I was within sixty or seventy yards of the enemy when they raised the flag, and was close in with them in a minute

or two afterwards; and well recollect to have seen Colonel Shelby there, one of the first men I met with. I remember to have heard several persons enquire for Col. Campbell before he came up, which was I think, about fifteen minutes after the surrender. I also recollect to have heard it talked of in the army after the action, and for many years after when in conversation with men who were in that battle, that Colonel Campbell was not at the surrender, for some time after the enemy had laid down their arms. Given under my hand this 25th day Nov., 1822.

THOMAS KENNEDY.

(No. 6)

Colonel John Sawyers' Certificate.

I, John Sawyers, of the County of Knox, and State of Tennessee, do certify, that Isaac Shelby, late Governor of Kentucky, held the command of Colonel at the battle of King's Mountain—that I was a captain in his regiment, and know that he first planned the expedition with John Sevier, who then held a similar commission—that said Shelby went courageously into the action—was the commander who rallied the Sullivan troops when broken—that I saw him and received directions from him frequently on the mountain in the heat of the action, and heard him animating his men to victory. He was also among the first at the surrender. I saw him and Col. Sevier when the enemy laid down their arms but did not see Colonel Campbell for some minutes afterwards. I also state, that Major Evan Shelby, brother of Isaac and not Isaac Shelby, Sevier or Campbell, as I have heard that some now state, received the flag and sword. I also state that from this circumstance I was led to think of Campbell at the time, looked for him amongst the other officers, and do believe that if he had been there, I should have seen him; and that he did not come up for fifteen or twenty minutes after the enemy had laid down their arms and been placed under guard. I also know that it was the general talk at the time, and that I have frequently since heard it spoken of by men who were in the action, as an indisputable fact, that he was not in the latter part of the action or at the surrender. I also recollect distinctly to have heard it said amongst the officers

before we left the mountain, as well as on the way home and since, that Campbell himself admitted it, and in a private conversation with Colonel Shelby on the mountain had said that he could not account for it. I remember to have intended to have asked Shelby if this was so, but it so happened that I have never since named this subject to him or him to me. Given under my hand, 16th Feby., 1823.

JOHN SAWYERS.

We the undersigned have been long acquainted with the person and character of Col. John Sawyers of County of Knox and State of Tennessee, and we declare that in our opinion there is no man more entitled to credit upon his word or upon his oath. Given under our hands at Knoxville, this 22nd Feby., 1823.

P. M. MILLER.

W. G. BLOUNT.

W. C. MYNATT.

W. E. ANDERSON.

[One other name not legible.]

(No. 7)

James Cooper's Certificate.

I, James Cooper, of the County of Hawkins and State of Tennessee, do certify, that in the section of country in which I live, I have heard it generally spoken of by the soldiers who were in the battle of King's Mountain, that Col. Campbell did not act as bravely on that occasion as he did on some others, that it was a well-known fact that he did not make his appearance at the place of surrender until after the enemy had been taken from their arms and placed under guard—that this is the way in which I have always heard my neighbours, James Campbell, John Long, and several others, speak of this matter. Given under my hand this 18th day of February, 1823.

JAMES COOPER.

(No. 8)

The Statement of Col. Moses Shelby, made upon oath.

I, Moses Shelby, do state that I was in the battle against the British and Tories upon King's Mountain on the 7th day of October 1780, in Col. Isaac Shelby's regiment. That I received two wounds in that action; by the last wound through my thigh near my body, I was rendered

unable to walk, or to stand without help, and was assisted down to a branch, some small distance from the foot of the mountain, at the east end—at which place I saw Colonel William Campbell, (our commander) sitting on his black horse. I knew him perfectly as I was well acquainted with him. This was about the middle of the action, and I do know that Colonel Campbell did not leave that place until the battle was over, or until the firing had ceased. All this is true, and within my own knowledge. Given under my hand at New Madrid, this 2nd day of November, A.D. 1822. MOSES SHELBY.

(No. 9)

Henry Blevins' Certificate.

I, Henry Blevins, of Hawkins County, East Tennessee, do certify that I was a private in Captain Elliot's company in Shelby's regiment at King's Mountain; I was not in the action, but in the rear guard with the baggage; I know, however, that it was the general talk in the army on the next day, that Col. Campbell was not in the action, after they were first beaten back down the mountain, and that he himself admitted it, and said that he could not tell how it happened. I recollect to have heard him told of it once, by General Sevier. The way in which this took place was this: there were about thirty Tories condemned to be hanged, nine only were executed. They were executed three at a time, near to Sevier's tent; while it was going on, Campbell came up and demanded in an angry manner, why they did not hang all these damned rascals at once? Sevier laughed and replied, "Why, Colonel, if we had all been as much in earnest in the action, I think we should have killed more and had fewer of them to hang." I also heard it thrown up to him by two men who were wounded, William Cox and Moses Shelby. I heard Sevier say, at different times afterwards, that if he had acted as Campbell did in the action, he would not have blamed his men to have killed him. It has been the general talk amongst those who I have heard speak on this subject at different times, that Campbell did not act with his usual bravery on that occasion.

Given under my hand this 18th day of February, 1823. HENRY BLEVINS.

I, Richard Mitchell, of Hawkins County, do certify that the above and foregoing statement of Henry Blevins was a voluntary statement made by him in my presence.

RICHARD MITCHELL.

(No. 10)

John Long's Certificate.

I, John Long, of the County of Hawkins, and State of Tennessee, do certify, that I was a soldier in Shelby's regiment at the battle of King's Mountain; that I know that Colonel Shelby went bravely into the action, and that it was his influence that rallied our troops when broken; that I saw him at the surrender, and know that he first stopped the firing on the enemy, declaring that as they had surrendered they ought not to be fired upon, which some were disposed to do, who were crying out "Buford's play," wishing to retaliate for their conduct on a former occasion. I also state, that I did not see Colonel Campbell either in the latter part of the action or at the surrender, and that it was the common talk in the army, and among the men coming home, and frequently since, that he was in neither. I also recollect to have heard it laughed about afterwards, that Colonel Sevier had told Campbell that if we had all been as brave in the action as about the hanging of the Tories, that we should not have had so many of them to hang. I have heard it said ever since by those who were in the action, that Campbell was not in the latter part of the action, and had not acted as bravely on that day as it is said he had done on other occasions.

Given under my hand this, the 19th day of February, 1823.

JOHN LONG.

Certificate of John Cawood, Esq.

I, John Cawood, of Sullivan County and State of Tennessee, do certify, that I have been acquainted with John Long, who lives at present in Hawkins County, for more than forty years, and that from all that I have known and heard of him, I should be as much disposed to believe any statement which he would make, and esteem it entitled to implicit confidence, as that of any other man in the state; and he has throughout all that period,

been regarded by all who knew him, (so far as I know and believe) as a man of strictest integrity and maintained a highly respectable character.

Given under my hand this 22nd February, 1823.

JOHN CAWOOD.

(No. 11)

Major William Delaney's Certificate.

I, William Delaney, of the County of Sullivan and State of Tennessee, do certify, that I was an orderly sergeant in the action of King's Mountain; that I know that Isaac Shelby distinguished himself on that occasion, and that it was generally said by those who I heard speak of it at the time, that he was entitled to more credit than any other officer at the mountain, that I was with him and rode with him while placing a guard round the enemy after the surrender; that I did not see Col. Campbell in the latter part of the action, or at the surrender for some minutes afterwards, and that I heard this spoken of at the time as well as since. It is also my belief from what I understood at the time (though I did not see it myself) that it was Major Evan Shelby and neither of the four colonels that received the sword from the British officer in command.

* * * * *

Given under my hand this 21st February, 1823.

WILLIAM DELANEY.

(No. 12)

Colonel John Sharp's Certificate.

I, John Sharp, of the County of Sullivan and State of Tennessee, do certify, that I was an Ensign in Capt. Pemberton's company, in the battle of King's Mountain, and that I was in the front line when the enemy surrendered; that Colonel Shelby was the first man I heard order the enemy to lay down their arms; after they began to cry for quarters he damned them, if they wanted quarters, why did they not lay down their arms. I also state, that I did not see Col. Campbell until some minutes afterwards, though I never heard him charged with cowardice on that account and do not pretend to say that he did not do his duty. All I can say is, that I did not see him at that time. Given under my hand this 21st day Feb., 1823.

JOHN SHARP.

(No. 12)

Certificate of William King, Esq.

I, William King, of Sullivan County and State of Tennessee do certify, that I have been a resident in this county for about forty years past; that though I was not in the battle of King's Mountain, yet I have very often in early times heard our men who were there, converse on this subject, and state, that Colonel Campbell was not in the latter part of the action, or at the surrender to receive the sword from the British Commandant. I also declare that I never heard it either from Colonel Shelby or from any of his family connections.

Given under my hand this 21st day of February, 1823.

WILLIAM KING.

(No. 13)

George Morrison's Certificate.

I, George Morrison, of the County of Sullivan and State of Tennessee, do certify, that I have often heard my father, Peter Morrison, and my father-in-law, Jonathan Wood, who were both in the battle of King's Mountain, but since dead, state that Colonel Campbell was not in the latter part of the action, or at the surrender for some time after the enemy had laid down their arms.

Given under my hand this 20th day of February, 1823.

GEORGE MORRISON.

(No. 14)

Jacob Isely's Certificate.

I, Jacob Isely, of the County of Sullivan and State of Tennessee, do certify, that though I was not in the action of King's Mountain, I have ever since lived in the neighbourhood of a number of men who were there, and have always heard it said by them, that Colonel Campbell was not in the latter part of the battle—that he went bravely into this action, but after the men were beaten back, had staid down at a branch with the wounded men, until the firing had ceased. I also state that I have often heard old Martin Roler, who was in the action, laugh about what Sevier had said to Campbell, when Campbell wanted all the Tories hung, that if we had all been as brave in the action, there would have been fewer to hang. Moses Shelby and John Fagon, two of the men who were

wounded, often stated after their return in my presence and that of many others, that they saw Colonel Campbell at the branch, from the middle of the action, until after the surrender. I have also heard Thomas Elliott and Martin Roler both say often that Moses Shelby had stated it to his face. Given under my hand 19th February, 1823.

JACOB ISELY.

(No. 15)

Jacob Bealer's Certificate.

I, Jacob Bealer, of the County of Sullivan, do state that I was in the battle of King's Mountain in Captain Pemberton's company, and was amongst the very first at the place of surrender—that when the enemy cried out for quarters I heard Colonel Shelby curse them and ask if they wanted quarters why did they not lay down their arms. The commander asked for our General, and gave his sword first to Major Evan Shelby, who kept it until Colonel Campbell came up, which was twenty minutes and I think longer afterwards. From the discourse which I heard between Colonel Shelby and the British officer, I know that Campbell was not there, and that it was that length of time before he came up. Given under my hand this 23rd February, 1823.

JACOB BEALER.

(No. 16)

Joseph Bealer's Certificate.

I, Joseph Bealer, do certify; that I was at the surrender with my brother (Jacob Bealer), at his side, and saw and heard what he has stated in the above certificate and know them to be true, and have always spoken of them and heard them spoken of by those who were there, in this way.

Given under my hand this 23rd February, 1823.

JOSEPH BEALER.

(No. 17)

John Peters' Certificate.

I, John Peters, of the County of Sullivan, do certify: that I was also in Captain Pemberton's company with Jacob and Joseph Bealer, and amongst the first at the surrender—that I know of my own knowledge that what Jacob Bealer

has stated in his certificate, is true;—that the enemy surrendered and there was a ring made round them fifteen or twenty minutes before I looked up and saw Colonel Campbell coming, with two or three others down the mountain—this is what I have always heard, and never heard it contradicted.

Given under my hand, 23rd February, 1823.

JOHN PETERS.

(No. 18)

Major Christopher Taylor's Certificate.

I, Christopher Taylor, of Washington County and State of Tennessee, do certify: that I was a captain in the battle of King's Mountain, and saw Colonel Campbell twice in the heat of action, before we were last beaten down the mountain—but that I did not see him in the latter part of the action, or at the surrender for some minutes afterwards. — After the enemy were placed in a ring and a guard four men deep placed around them, I saw him come up, close to the place where I stood, and an opening made for him to go amongst them—before this one of the Shelby's, and I think Evan, had received the flag, the first one having been shot down, and I saw him ride round or nearly round the enemy, telling our men that they had given up, and endeavour in that way to stop the firing. I have always believed that Colonels Shelby and Sevier acted with distinguished bravery on that occasion.

Given under my hand this 25th February, 1823.

CHRISTOPHER TAYLOR.

(No. 19)

Rev. Felix Earnest's Certificate.

February 28th, 1823.

I, Felix Earnest, of the County of Green and State of Tennessee, do certify; that I was in Sevier's regiment, Capt. Williams' company, at the battle of King's Mountain—that I was at the surrender and saw the enemy stacking their arms and a guard placed round them, but that I did not see Col. Campbell at the place of surrender for some minutes after.

Given under my hand the day and date above written.

FELIX EARNEST.

(No. 20)

William Willoughby's Certificate.

I, William Willoughby, of Lincoln County, and State of Kentucky, do hereby certify—that I was a Lieutenant in Capt. Beattie's company and Col. Campbell's regiment in the battle of King's Mountain. It has always been my opinion that Col. Isaac Shelby and Col. John Sevier deserved as much honor from their country on that occasion as any other officers on the mountain—that I saw Col. Shelby often animating our men during the action. I did not see Colonel Campbell after the commencement of the action nor at the surrender until the enemy were in the act of stacking their arms. I have always understood that Col. Shelby received the sword from the British Commander, and I also state (although I don't know it of my own knowledge) that it was a report, thirty or forty years ago, that Col. Campbell was not present at the surrender to receive the sword from the British Commander.

Given under my hand, this 17th day of March, 1823.

WILLIAM WILLOUGHBY.

(No. 21)

Robert Elder's Certificate.

I, Robert Elder, do hereby certify, that I was a volunteer of the regiment commanded by Colonel William Campbell, in the action fought upon King's Mountain, on the 7th day of October, in the year 1780, and do hereby declare, that I never saw Col. Campbell on the field of battle after the first onset of the action, until the surrender of the enemy. I also declare, that I often saw Colonel Isaac Shelby endeavouring to animate our men, and particularly at the time of the battle when the enemy charged our lines and drove us down the mountain, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred yards, or upwards. I both saw and heard Colonel Shelby make great exertions to rally our men, which he finally effected, and turned them back upon the enemy, and drove them in their turn until they surrendered.

Given under my hand, this 2d day of April, 1823.

ROBERT ELDER.

(No. 22)

John McCulloch's Certificate.

I, John McCulloch, of the County of Washington and State of Virginia, do state: that though I was applied to by the friends of the late Col. Campbell, to know what I could state in relation to the battle of King's Mountain, I never did subscribe to the certificate which I am told has been published in my name; or have I ever seen it, either in writing or in print, and cannot therefore say whether it states the truth or not. I saw Colonel Campbell at the enemy's markee; how far it was from there to the place of surrender, or whether the enemy or some of them might not then be surrendering, I cannot state.

JOHN MCCULLOCH.

(No. 23)

General James Winchester, of Tennessee, in a letter to Thomas Smith, Esq., dated in February last, says, in relation to Mr. Preston's publication:

"I perfectly recollect in the year 1785, when I first came to this country, that a number of respectable men, among whom were the Bledsoes, well acquainted with the affair of King's Mountain, did not hesitate to say, that Sevier and Shelby had a fair claim to the honours of that day; that Campbell was some distance from the place of action, etc."

NOTES

A FRIENDLY PRESENT.—*Philadelphia, September 7, 1732.* A Treaty has been lately made with the Ambassadors of the Six Nations of Indians who have been here for some time, in order to renew the ancient Chain of Friendship between them and us; and on Thursday last several presents were made them, particularly, our Proprietor presented them with Six Guns curiously wrought, and the Stocks inlaid with Gold, the finest that has ever been seen here, to

be delivered as a mark of his Affection. one to the King of each Nation; and on Saturday they had their Audience of Leave in order to return Home.

W. K.

TALES OF THE REVOLUTION.—The following capital illustration of the authenticity of war news as furnished by the newspapers, was printed in the Public Advertiser, at London, in 1777. It seems worthy of reproduction and preservation in a journal of American History:

PETERSFIELD.

HISTORY OF THE WAR IN AMERICA.

Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra.—Virg.

BRITISH ACCOUNTS.

AMERICAN RELATIONS.

¹ The Rebel Troops are now reduced to a very small number; they are all the vilest Ragamuffins imaginable, lousy and ill clothed, having scarce anything to cover their nakedness.

² In all the late Skirmishes in the Jerseys with the Rebels, the King's Troops have come off victorious.

³ Gen. Lee is in a desponding condition; he endeavors to recruit his spirits by liquor. It is an undoubted Truth, that he is just now sent to England on board one of his Majesty's Ships of War.

⁴ Mr. Dickenson, Author of the Farmer's Letters, is so offended at the unjust and cruel conduct of the Congress, that he has raised an Army of 5,000 Men, with which he has totally defeated a large Body of the Rebels on the Banks of the Delaware.

¹ Our Troops are in high spirits; they are well paid and well fed; we have Abundance of Arms, Ammunition and good clothing. In a very short time we shall have a gallant Army of 75,000 Men complete.

² Ever since the affair of Trenton, the Continental Troops have constantly defeated the British and Hessian Forces.

³ Gen. Howe has endeavored in vain to open a Treaty with the Congress by the good offices of Gen. Lee, who is still at Brunswick, and in good Spirits.

⁴ Mr. Dickenson, on account of his advanced age, has retired to his estate at Dover, near Philadelphia. He entirely approves of the American Cause, and his two Sons are Officers in the Provincial Army.

⁵ The Congress is greatly diminished, owing to their continual dissensions, several of them are escaped to New York, and are under the protection of Gen. Howe. One of the members of this despotical assembly lately hanged himself in a fit of despair.

⁶ The Rebels are worse than Savages; they behave with their utmost cruelty to their prisoners; some they kill in cold Blood; they strip the slain and offer all manner of indignity to the dead bodies.

⁷ The Colony of Georgia has revolted entirely from the Congress, and taken the Oaths to his Majesty. Great Numbers are coming from all quarters to accept the terms of the Proclamation.

⁸ Washington is certainly dead of a Putrid fever.

The above, Mr. Printer, are pretty faithful transcripts from the different narratives of the two contending parties. Which am I to believe? The several articles on each side are vouched to be authentic intelligence. Like two witnesses in a cause, who swear to the truth of different and contradictory facts, they prove at least that one side is perjured and dishonest. For my own part, I incline to the sentiment inculcated in my motto—that the Ministerialists and the Friends of the Colonists are both guilty of Falsehood and Misrepresentation. SCALE.

⁵ The Congress were never so unanimous as at present. They are returned to Philadelphia in Triumph.

⁶ Nothing has more united all the Colonies in a strict Bond of Union than the brutal cruelties of the British Troops and their bloody Mercenaries; besides the practice of killing in cold Blood several hundreds who laid down their arms, they rob and plunder wherever they go; they make no distinction between friends & foes. They ravish virgins before the eyes of their parents; nay, they break open the tombs of the dead, and expose the bodies of those who have been buried for some time.

⁷ The Colony of Georgia continues faithful to its engagements to the Congress. Col. Mackintosh, the commanding officer, vows he will drub Gov. Tonym, and his Florida Troops, if they offer to invade his Province any more. Not a single hamlet or family have submitted voluntarily to Howe.

⁸ We can assure the Public, from good authority, that Gen. Washington is in Perfect Health.

PUNISHMENT IN THE AMERICAN ARMY.—Their discipline is very severe; the power of the officers over the soldiers very extensive; they whip for slight faults; I was by accident together with some French officers a witness of this severe punishment. The culprit is attached to the wheel of a cannon carriage, the shoulders bare, the arms extended forward so as to give more tension to the muscles; each soldier of his company strikes him in turn with a thick stick; he is soon bathed in blood. What astonished us and caused us to remain the longer spectators of this painful scene was that two of the unfortunate fellows whom we saw suffer the same punishment did not utter a single complaint, not even a sigh, nor tremble in the least—Is this courage? or is physical sensitiveness less in a people whose fibres the forest air, the use of tea and milk have prodigiously softened?—*From the Abbé Robin's Nouveau Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale.*

EDITOR.

FIRST CHANDLERY FACTORY IN AMERICA.—This extensive and lucrative branch of business in Newport was introduced here by the Jews who immigrated here from Portugal somewhere about the year 1745 to 50. They possessed the art of preparing the sperm for candles, which they kept as a great secret for a number of years, by which some of them became rich. The Jewish population of Newport were respectable and respected by their neighbours. One of the first merchants for wealth, enterprise, and commercial intelligence then in the colonies was Aaron Lopez of New-

port, a native of Portugal and a Jew, —*Rhode Island Republican, May 12. 1860.*

Of the sixteen persons engaged in this business before the revolution, three, Riveria, Aaron Lopez and Seixas, were Jews.

Newport.

J. E. M.

THE FIRST DUEL IN THE UNITED STATES.—The first duel in the United States was fought at Plymouth, Massachusetts, on the 18th of June, 1621, between Edward Doty and Edward Leicester, two servants, both of whom were wounded. For this outrage they were sentenced to the punishment of having their heads and feet tied together, and of lying thus twenty-four hours without food or drink. After suffering, however, in that painful posture an hour, at their masters' intercession and their own humble request, with the promise of amendment, they were released by the Governor. — *Portland (Me.) Press, 1880.*

NEWPORT TRADE IN 1723.—The trade to Africa, in New England Rum, was first found out by the merchants of Newport in the year 1723, where it soon rivaled the French trade to that country in Brandy; and the merchants of Newport having first introduced the article there, continued to reap a good profit, which increased the business of distilling until the distilleries in the Colony amounted to 30 or over—twenty-two of which were in the town of Newport. — *Rhode Island Republican, Nov. 22, 1857.*

J. E. M.

Newport.

FOUNDING OF PORT KENT, ESSEX CO., N. Y.—A company has been recently formed at Chesterfield, N. Y., nearly opposite Burlington, Vt., for the purpose of building a wharf and a village. The site selected is a little north of Trembleau Point, named at a recent meeting of the proprietors, Port Kent. The wharf and quay are more than two thirds completed. A spacious road has been laid out over a level surface to Keesville, about three and a half miles, which will add much to the importance of the place. "The facility of communication with the interior," says a letter from that place, "will doubtless accelerate the progress of iron manufactories, and call into action the dormant energies of the county, which must in its effect benefit the entire community, and yet in no manner withdraw from Plattsburg that portion of country which has been accustomed to trade there."—*N. Y. Gazette*, Sept. 24, 1823.

W. K.

THE NEW YORK CINCINNATI.—We are informed on excellent authority that after the passage of their rule of 1852, admitting to membership all male descendants, though not in a direct line from the original, provided for in the aristocratic constitution of the Society there were admitted quite a number of descendants of Nicholas Fish and Samuel B. Webb, both original founders. Their number led a witty member of the kindred institution of New Jersey to remark that it was fast becoming an aquatic society, Fishy and Webb-footed.

CINCINNATUS.

CANADIAN TEMPERATURE.—Mercury froze in the bulb of a thermometer at Montreal on the 28th January, 1823. Observed by Dr. Alexander Shakel, who called the attention of three of his teachers to the fact, broke the tube, handled the solid mercury, and suffered it to roll away on the floor like a marble. The temperature at the time by the spirit thermometer was 42° below zero.

Mercury froze almost throughout Lower Canada January 10, 1859. At Lenoxville, 44° below zero; at Island Pond, beyond the Canadian boundary line, 49° below zero was reported.—*One Hundred Questions in Canadian History*, Montreal, 1880.

EDITOR.

QUERIES

BATTLE OF THE BRANDYWINE. — Where can I find any pamphlets or printed documents relating to the Battle of the Brandywine? I wish to see some more detailed account of that engagement than appears in the general histories.

Brazil, Indiana.

T. M. R.

THE RANDAL MAPS.—Some years ago the widow of John Randal, Jr., who served as deputy surveyor to the Commissioners who laid out the city of New York north of the present Houston street, offered for sale his original field books and partly finished maps. They were reputed to be of great value in settling disputed boundary lines. Can any of your readers give information as to their present whereabouts?

REAL ESTATE.

THE FIRST STEAM ENGINE IN AMERICA.—I read in the newspapers a short time ago an interview with the Hon. Abram S. Hewitt on political affairs. in which that gentleman stated that his father was the first person to erect a steam engine in this country. This must be an error, as I have found references to steam engines in use at the old Schuyler copper mine in New Jersey, at the water works in New York City, before the Revolution, and quite early in Philadelphia. What was the date of the first engine, and where was Mr. Hewitt's located?

THOS. ARMSTRONG.

THE BOWNE HOUSE AT FLUSHING, L. I.—Occasional references appear in the local papers of Long Island in regard to an ancient house at Flushing, L. I., known as the "Bowne House." It is to be supposed that it has an interesting history to warrant such frequent notice. Mention is made also of a collection of relics gathered there. Information is requested as to any authentic account of this memorial of the olden time.

Bowery Bay.

G. T. S.

FOX HALL MANOR.—I have seen repeated allusions to this estate, which lay somewhere on the Hudson River. Can any of your readers give its precise location, and define its limits?

A. H.

A WASHINGTON PORTRAIT.—In a letter, dated Philadelphia, March 11, 1795, from Charlotte Chambers, daughter of Gen. James Chambers of Pennsylvania, afterwards Mrs. Israel Ludlow

of Cincinnati, to her mother in Franklin county, speaking of a visit made her by Mrs. Washington, she thus writes:

"On taking leave she observed a portrait of the President hanging over the mantel piece, and said she 'never had seen a correct likeness of Gen. Washington. The only merit the numerous portraits of him possessed was their resemblance to each other.'"

The writer of this letter was the guest of "Mrs. Cadwalader," presumably Mrs. General Cadwalader. Where is the portrait which is spoken of?

Harrisburg.

A. B. H.

THE EPISCOPAL ESTABLISHMENT IN NEW YORK.—Was there ever any Establishment of the Episcopal Church in the New York Province? It is so claimed by American ecclesiastical authorities, but I have been unable to find any record of it.

CAREY.

DESCENDANTS OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.—Sir William Johnson, in his will, dated 1774, made shortly before his death, after requesting that the remains of his deceased wife Catharine be placed near his own, leaves bequests to his children, Sir John, (who married Mary Watts); Ann, wife of Col. Daniel Claus; and Mary, wife of Colonel Guy Johnson; and also bequests to Mary Brant, whom he terms his "present housekeeper," and provides for eight natural children whom she bore him, whom he names in the following order: Peter, Elizabeth, Magdalene, Margaret, George, Mary, Susannah and Ann.

Of the Catharine mentioned as his

deceased wife, and who from the context it may be presumed was the mother of John, Ann and Mary, although this is not so stated, very little is known. The industrious biographer of Sir William Johnson, William L. Stone, [1, 66] believed that he married young, probably about 1740, and that the object of his choice was supposed to have been a young German by the name of Catharine Weisenberg, "a plain country girl of no social position." Nor was he able to ascertain the date of her decease with any more precision, but presumed it to have been in the summer of 1745.

The same uncertainty exists with regard to the age of his housekeeper, Mary, who is familiarly known as Molly Brandt. Mr. Stone says that their relations first begun in 1748, and that the tradition of the Mohawk valley fixed her age at about sixteen. He also states that she was a *sister* of Thayendanegea or Joseph Brant, whose birth is given as 1742.

Strange to say, this same Joseph Brant is supposed by Col. William L. Stone (senior), in his life of Thayendanegea, by Drake in his Book of the Indians, who quotes Jared Sparks as his authority, and by numerous writers in repetition, to have been the *son* of Sir William Johnson.

The will of Sir William introduces still another element of uncertainty in this strange genealogy—in his liberal provision for two Mohawk lads, young Brant, alias Kegneghtaga, and William, alias Tageheunto, both of Canajoharie; the family name of the second not being mentioned. From the liberality

of the bequest, it is a natural inference that William at least was a natural son of the baronet by another Indian mother.

Will some of your readers kindly unravel this tangled skein, and give in the Magazine a correct list of the marriages and births of the children of Sir William?

UTICA.

PITTSBURG DISEASES IN 1803.—T. M. Harris, in his "Journal of a Tour into the Territory Northwest of the Alleghany Mountains, 1803," says, p. 46:

"We observed several people near Pittsburg (Pa.) affected with a tumour on the throat like a wen. Inquiring into the cause of it, we were informed that they imputed it to some effect of the climate under the brows of the high mountains where they reside, and added that even dogs and some other animals were subject to it. Indeed we saw a couple of goats who had this uncomfortable appendage to their necks." As there are no high mountains near Pittsburg, and the goitre is not a disease peculiar to that locality, the author must have been imposed upon by a wag. Can any one tell to what disease he refers?

H. E. H.

Wilkes Barre, Pa.

DEATH OF BRADDOCK.—In a paper on Blennerhassett, reprinted from McMillan's Magazine in the August Eclectic, the writer, alluding to Braddock's defeat, uses these words:

"* * * while the ill-fated Braddock, their leader, mad with rage and shame, and trying to form his panic-stricken and pipe-clayed red coats, as if

they were in the open plains of Flanders, *was shot dead by an exasperated Virginia militiaman!*"

Whence the authority for such a statement?

O. W. SHAW.

GREENE'S LETTER CONCERNING GATES.

—Can any one give information concerning the letter of General Greene dated High Hills of Santee, 8 August, 1781, quoted by Gordon as addressed to "a friend in Philadelphia" (Gordon IV., 98) and from Gordon in the Magazine (V., 272)?

Professor Greene writes from his home, Windmill Cottage, Sept. 9, 1880:

"I find thus far no traces of the letter. The 'extract from Gordon is in the tone taken by 'Greene in speaking of Gates after the battle 'of Camden. When he first received tidings 'of that event, he said, 'Let us wait and see.' 'When he was appointed to succeed Gates he 'appears to have made it a rule to speak of him 'with great respect and sympathy. Williams 'speaks of their meeting in the presence of the 'army as an 'elegant lesson of propriety, exhibited on a most delicate and interesting 'occasion.'"

Greene, on numerous occasions and in many ways, gave testimony to his appreciation of Gates' services, and it was by his influence that the unfortunate General was restored to command.

EDITOR.

A LOST MISSIONARY TRAIL.—In 1540 Coronado was sent by the Spanish authorities from Cinaloor into (as is supposed) what is now Kansas. In 1806 Pike journeyed westward, and discovered the peak which bears his name. History is almost silent as to the presence of white men in the Arkansas valley in nearly all the intervening years,

but I have heard of a traditionary trail, used by French and Spanish missionaries, probably between Kaskaskia, in Illinois, and Santa Fe. Can any light be thrown on this most interesting subject?

A. A. HAYES, JR.

N. Y., Aug. 1880.

BILLY CALDWELL, THE SAUGANASH.—

This chief of the Pottawatomies, is said to have had many papers and documents relating to Tecumseh and his connection with the war of 1812. Can anyone put me on the track of said papers? Any information concerning the chief, Caldwell, either before, during, or after his residence in Chicago, and any information as to his parentage, would be thankfully received by

W. E. F.

Chicago.

MAJOR CUTLER OF SCHOOLCRAFT'S EPIGRAM.—In a MS journal kept by Henry R. Schoolcraft during his tour to the Northwest in 1825, occurs the following:

"We passed a precipitous range of hills near Pine Creek, on one of which is a cave, called by our boatmen 'Le diable au port,' or, 'the devil's door.' The superstition of peopling dens and other dark places on earth with the 'arch fiend' is common. If the 'ould spent' has given any proof to the French boatmen of his residence here, I shall only hope that he will confine himself to this river and not go about troubling quiet folks in the land of the lakes. By the way, the devil has shown great partiality for military gentlemen, at least if we may judge of his activity at the Sault. If all the lies and mischief he has engendered

there were capable of being gathered into a pile, it would reach to the clouds.

Oh Satan, hell's omnipotent butler,
Thou art there and Major Cutler."

Is this epigram original with Schoolcraft? If not, who is the author, and who was Major Cutler?

Wilkes Barre, Pa.

H. E. H.

KISSAM BOOK-PLATE.—I have before me a book-plate of Benjamin Kissam, designed by H. Dawkins. Can any of the readers of the Magazine give any information concerning the engraver?

Newport, R. I.

J. E. M.

AN AUTHOR WANTED.—Who is the author of a volume of 228 pages published by S. G. Goodrich, Boston, 1827, and entitled, "Poems, by the Author of Moral Pieces in Prose and Verse"? The first poem in the book is "The Grave of the Mother of Washington."

Wilkes Barre, Pa.

H. E. H.

HEREDITARY GOOSE-QUILLS.—Watson, in his Historic Tales of the Olden Time, says: "I have noticed a singular custom among Dutch families; a father gives a bundle of goose-quills to his son, telling him to give one to each of his posterity. I saw one in the possession of James Bogert, which had a scroll appended, saying: "This quill, given by Petrus Byvanck to James Bogert, was a present in 1689 from his grandfather in Holland."

Is anything known of this custom?

C.

JOHN BROWN, LIEUT.-COLONEL OF THE MASSACHUSETTS LINE.—A great

deal of interesting matter concerning this excellent partizan officer, who fell at Stone Arabia on the 19th October, 1780, may be found in Smith's history of Pittsfield, but no mention is made of any portrait of him. Is any known to exist? Information is earnestly requested by the

EDITOR.

THE GIBBS HOUSE BY THE POND AT NEWPORT.—This venerable structure, which for a long time was known as the Perry House, and the best of the boarding houses in the days before hotels existed in this city by the sea, is now occupied as a cottage. There is a tradition that Washington slept in one of its rooms.

Surely this can be established or the tradition disposed of. How is it?

Newport.

E.

THE WOODRUFF HOUSE AT PERTH AMBOY.—There is one tradition, perhaps there may be a second, that this old home was once visited by Washington. An account of this visit would be an interesting addition to the very full list of the houses thus distinguished which has appeared in the Magazine. Will some reader supply the information?

IULUS.

DAVID GRIM.—Can any reader give me some particulars of the life of Mr. Grim? He gave to the New York Historical Society, in 1834, an account of the great fire in New York in 1776. Sabine, in the appendix to the second volume of the American Loyalists, speaks of him as "the antiquarian tavern-keeper." "David Grim," says Watson in his

Historic Tales of the Olden Time, "told Mr. Lydig that he had seen the river water flowing over Chatham and Pearl Streets, and he remembered when the only lamp in the city was at the corner of Wall and William Streets." C.

tween France and the United States on the 6th February, 1778, on the part of the most Christian King, and that he is there described as Conrad Alexander Gerard, royal Syndick of the City of Strasbourg and Secretary of his Majesty's Council of State. IULUS.

REPLIES

GATES AT CAMDEN—A CORRECTION. —(V., 274.) By an error in proof reading, Washington's words are misprinted. Instead of "not in the power of human foresight and *precedence* to command," the phrase should read "and *prudence* to command." The entire letter may be found in the August, 1880, number of the Magazine (IV., 122). EDITOR

BRITISH SALUTES. —(V., 108, 222.) I do not know what a salute of seventeen guns signified one hundred years ago. Now—all over the world—twenty-one guns is the recognized national salute, and all personal salutes are graded down from that. The Chinese have the sensible salute of *three guns*. Western nations might take example from them and burn less gunpowder—and it will come to that as far as naval salutes are concerned, since the rule is large guns and few of them—one gun burning to-day as much powder as twenty-one did one hundred years ago. Like slavery, salutes are a relic of barbarism.

G. H. P.

GERARD, THE FRENCH PLENIPOTENTIARY. —(III., 760.) While unable to give all the information requested by Arma, I simply note that it was Gerard who signed the Treaty of Alliance be-

THE BOSTON BEACON. —(V., 222.) Drake, in his history of Boston, reciting the proceedings of the citizens in September, 1768, on the arrival of the British officer from Halifax, whose mission was judged to be to make arrangements for quartering troops in the town, says that his arrival was about the beginning of September, and immediately after a tar-barrel was discovered in the skillet of the Beacon on Beacon Hill.

In a note Drake adds: "Governor Bernard says it was an empty turpentine barrel, and 'was put up upon the poll (pole) of the Beacon (which had lately been erected anew in a great hurry by the Selectmen without consulting him), which gave great alarm.'" He also quotes from a letter of Governor Bernard on the Town Records, Sept. 12: "A Vote of the Honorable Board respecting a tar-barrel, which was the other night placed in the Skillet on Beacon Hill by persons unknown, was committed to the town, but not acted upon."

From this it appears that the beacon was a temporary expedient, not a permanent structure. D. C.

THE WEBB HOUSE, WETHERSFIELD. —(IV., 439.) Among the old houses in Wethersfield is what is known in history as the Webb House, the place where

Washington held a conference with certain French officers, and where the plans were matured which resulted in the brilliant victory at Yorktown, and the close of the American war for Independence. The conference which made this house historical was held in May, 1781, and was participated in by Washington, Generals Knox and Du Portail, Count de Rochambeau and Chevalier Chastellux. It was here the subject of attacking New York was debated and resolved upon. The owners of the house take a pardonable pride in their fine old mansion on account of its associations, and there is one room in it which is considered more sacred even than the room in which the conference was held; and this is the chamber where Washington slept. While other parts of the house have, from time to time, given way to improvement, this one room has hardly been disturbed. The same paper is on the walls that was there one hundred years ago, when Washington for one night occupied the room. The paper is thick and velvet-like, of a dark maroon color, with huge leaves scattered over its surface. It was desired to change a doorway in this room some years ago, and rather than have the paper disturbed the wall for the new doorway was cut out and bodily removed—lath, plaster, paper and all—and fitted into the aperture of the old door.—*New Haven (Conn.) Palladium*, 1880. J. A. S.

KOSCIUSKO. — (IV., 221.) Though unable to throw any light upon the immediate point touched upon in the query of your correspondent, I communicate the following paragraph from

the Duke de Rochefoucault Liancourt's *Travels in America*, from 1795 to 1797:

"I shall be pardoned for adding the name of *Kosciusko* to the list which I delight in commemorating. There is no heart friendly to liberty, or admirer of virtue and talent, in whom the name of *Kosciusko* does not excite sentiments of interest and respect. The purity and liberality of his intentions, the boldness of his undertakings, the able manner in which he conducted them, and the misfortunes and atrocious captivity which have been their consequence, are too well known to require repetition. It is also well known that Paul the First signalized the commencement of his reign by the enlargement of this respectable sufferer, whose imprisonment and barbarous treatment made every generous mind condemn Catharine, if the whole life of that infamous woman, blackened with crimes and vices, could be sullied by an additional crime. In America, where he served with distinction in the war of the revolution, has *Kosciusko* come to seek an asylum. He lodged, when I saw him, at the house of the brave General Gates, in whose army he was employed at the memorable affair of Saratoga. The consequences of his wounds, which still prevent him from the free use of one of his legs, and his rigorous confinement impaired his health, but it now begins to be re-established. Simple and modest, he even sheds tears of gratitude, and seems astonished at the homage he receives. He sees in every man who is the friend of liberty of man a brother. His countenance, sparkling with fire, discovers a soul which no circumstances can render dependent, and expresses the language of his heart, *Shall I never fight more for my country?* He speaks little, particularly as to the misfortunes of his country, although the thought of them occupy his whole soul. In a word, elevation of sentiment, grandeur, meekness, force, goodness, all that commands respect and homage, appear to me concentrated in this celebrated and interesting victim of misfortune and despotism. I have met few men whose appearance so much excited in me that effect.

His young friend, *Niemcewicz*, who was wounded in the same battle with *Kosciusko*, and, like him, was imprisoned in the dungeon of

Catharine, has followed him to America, and devotes to him the fondest attentions of friendship. Niemcewicz is, from his noble sentiments, the agreeableness of his manners, and the extent of his knowledge, a person particularly interesting. He is said to hold the first rank among the poets of his country.

After having seen both these great men as often as I could, I left them with a sincere wish for the happiness of their country, which was returned with an equal wish on their part in behalf of mine."

Kosciusko was a great favorite in the service, his talents commanding the respect of the higher officers in an army in which, from its first organization, the want of competent engineers was felt.

Fieldstone.

M. L. D.

THE PSEUDO PRINCESS CHARLOTTE —(V., 60.) Boston, Dec. 9, 1773. Tuesday Evening arrived in Town Incog. Her Serene Highness the Princess of Crownenburgh on a Tour thro' the Northern Parts of the Continent. Her Highness Attendants are daily expected in Town.—*New Hampshire Gazette, Dec. 17, 1773.*

C. W. T.

BURGOYNED. —(V., 137.) There is a still earlier use of this phrase or its equivalent in a letter written by Richard Peters from Philadelphia, June 15, 1780, to General Gates on hearing of his appointment to the command of the Southern Department. "Our affairs to the Southward look blue. So they did when you took the command before the *Burgoyne*. I can only say *go and do likewise*. God bless you." EDITOR.

—General Gates may have been the author of the phrase Burgoyning, but I find in the Gates' papers preserved by

the New York Historical Society still another use of it. It occurs in a letter, dated Bourbonne les Bains (France), July 5, 1780, and written by I. Conway to General Gates:

"We'll never Despair of American independence while General Gates is at the head of the Army, and trust that Saratoga will not Be the only field of Laurels for you, and some English Generals might yet be *Burgoyne'd*." EDITOR.

NIAGARA FALLS IN 1764. —(V., 48.) In Vol. II. of Dodsley's Annual Register (1759) is an article on Niagara Falls, headed "A letter from Mr. Kalm, a Swedish gentleman, late on his travels in America, to his friend in Philadelphia, containing a particular account of the great fall of Niagara" (Pages 388-94.) The letter is dated "Albany, Sept. 2, 1750." An examination of this letter shows that the article in the July number of the Magazine of American History, "from a newspaper of the day" (1764), is a very close following of the above letter, with some abridgement and very slight alteration in some of the parts retained. I think no new ideas are given in the "newspaper."

Faribault, Minn.

J. J. Dow.

PEPPERELL MANSION AT KITTERY POINT.—(II., 683.) Timothy Alden, Jr., in a communication to the Humane Society at Boston, dated at Portsmouth, N. H., April 10, 1804, describing the heroism of the Kittery fishermen in rescuing shipwrecked mariners, mentions "Major Thomas D. Cutts' tavern, the ancient mansion of the late Sir William Pepperell" W. K.

THE FRANKLIN STOVE.—(V., 141.) In Bigelow's life of B. Franklin, written by himself, Lippincott Ed., 1879, vol. 1, p. 287, occurs the following statement by Mr. Franklin, which ought to set at rest forever the above inquiry:

"In order of time I should have mentioned before, that having, in 1742, invented an open stove for the better warming of rooms, and at the same time saving fuel, as the fresh air admitted was warmed in entering, I made a present of the model to Mr. Robert Grace, one of my early friends, who, having an iron furnace, found the casting of the plates in the stoves a profitable thing, as they were growing in demand. To promote that demand I wrote and published a pamphlet entitled "*An Account of the New Invented Pennsylvania Fire Places,*" wherein their construction and manner of operation is particularly explained; their advantages above every other method of warming rooms demonstrated; and all Objections that have been raised against the Use of them answered and obviated, etc." This pamphlet had a good effect.

Gov. Thomas was so pleased with the construction of this stove as described in it, that he offered to give me a patent for the sole vending of them for a term of years; but I declined it from a principle which has ever weighed with me on such occasions, viz.: *That, as we enjoy great advantages from the inventions of others, we should be glad of an opportunity to serve others by any invention of ours; and this we should do freely and generously.*

An iron-monger in London, however, assuming a great deal of my pamphlet, and working it up into his own, and making some small changes in the ma-

chine, which rather hurt its operation, got a patent for it there, and made, as I was told, a little fortune by it. And this is not the only instance of patents taken out for my inventions by others, tho' not always with the same success, which I never contested, as having no desire of profiting by patents myself, and hating disputes. The use of these fire places in very many houses, both of this and the neighboring colonies, has been and is a great saving of wood to the inhabitants."

The Encyclopedia Americana, Ed. 1842, under the head of Fire Places, describes this invention of Franklin as the "Franklin Stoves," which the editor says "are cast-iron fire places, and when executed according to the inventor's directions, are a very economical contrivance. Most of the articles however now sold under this name are very different from the original plan." Under the head of Franklin, he says: "In 1742 he invented the Franklin stove (see Fire Places), for which he refused a patent," etc.

Wilkes Barre, Pa.

H. E. H.

CURIOUS HEBREW RELIC.—(V., 139.) The mission with the Pottawatomies has been discontinued, and Dr. Lykins himself died some years since. He was thoroughly conversant with the character and usages of the tribe, and it is to be regretted that the person who obtained from him the facts presented with the query did not interrogate him further, as to the possible source from which the Pottawatomie family obtained the relic. Dr. Lykins' family at present reside, if I am not mistaken, at Kansas City, Missouri. I presume any information now

attainable as to the particular matter under inquiry may be had by addressing his son, Mr. W. H. R. Lykins, at that place.

If I may be permitted to venture a surmise, I would suggest that probably there is no specially recondite mystery in connection with the relic. Quite frequently Indian families or individuals are met who exhibit, or rather claim to have objects of various kinds to which they impute remarkable significance or properties. These objects may prove to be something picked up casually on their travels, or more usually obtained by barter, by theft, or from the person of a slain enemy. The more unaccountable the nature or use of the object is to its possessor the greater is its *ti-wa'-ruks-ti*, or mystical potency. Eagerness shown by others to get sight of, or to secure any of these objects only serves to enhance its fancied value. Whatever may have been its previous history I judge the relic mentioned may have come very naturally into the hands of the Potawattemie family in any one of the ways noted. The idea of seing in its presence among them any betokening of a Hebrew kinship is simply absurd.

Deposited.

J. B. D.

—A recent number of the New York Observer, of date August 5th, 1880, has in it an article by S. E. Bridgman, one of its correspondents, giving an account of a visit to the Stockbridge Indians on their reservation in Northern Wisconsin. It contains a statement with reference to the Stockbridge Indians which is curiously corroborative of the statement clipped from the Eastern Chronicle of

Picto, N. S., pertaining to the Pottawattemies, and published in the last number of the Magazine of American History. It is as follows: "Many believe the Stockbridges and their kindred tribes to be remnants of the Jewish nation, and that they have at some period of their national existence possessed a part of the Jewish scriptures seems very evident. One of their old historians said that his people once possessed the 'Good Book given by the Great Spirit, but that, having lost the power to read it, they had buried it with their chief.' In 1815 a gentleman in Pittsfield, Mass., found in the ground, on Indian Hill, four strips of parchment enclosed and sewed watertight in hard, thick leather, having the appearance of a portion of a harness. On the parchment was written, in Hebrew characters, the identical passages of scripture which the Jews used as phylacteries. In witnessing the ceremonies of the weird 'medicine dance,' and in listening to the interpreter's story of this society, I was wonderfully struck by the close relationship to Jewish Scripture story. The late Rev. Walter Colton, in one of his published 'Travels,' commented at considerable length upon their reverence for the Bibles presented long years before by Dr. Ayscough, first chaplain to the Prince of Wales, carefully preserved in all their wanderings, and still used in their worship."

Salem, Va.

W. McC.

—THE EXECUTION OF ANDRÉ.—(V., 142.) The General Order Book of Captain Samuel Bowman, who was one of the two officers on whose arms André leaned as he walked to the place of exe-

cution on the 2d of October, 1780, gives the officers of the day for October 2d and 3d thus :

"Headquarters, Orange Town,
October 1st, 1780.

Officers for Duty tomorrow, *Brig.-General Glover*, Col. Scilly, Lieut.-Col. Derborn, Major Harwood, Brigade Major Pattingal."

"Headquarters, Orange Town,
2d October, 1780.

Officers for Duty tomorrow, *Brig.-General Patterson*, Col. Tupper, Lieut.-Col. Scilly, Major Knapp, Brigade Major Rice."

H. E. H.

Wilkes Barre, Pa.

WASHINGTON ENGRAVED PORTRAITS.—(IV., 392.) In the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet of this city there are several varieties of the engraving described by Mr. Colburn. One lettered "General Washington published as the act directs, printed and sold by Carrington Bowles, No. 69 St. Paul's Churchyard, London," another, a mezzotint proof without lettering; in this the figure of Washington only, without the papers under foot and without the negro boy attendant. And there are others known.

J. A. S.

New York.

WASHINGTON'S SPY IN NEW YORK.—(III., 379.) In Stevens' Colonial Records of the N. Y. Chamber of Commerce, 8vo., 1867, page 157 of the biographical sketches, is an account of Captain Thomas Randall, a noted New York privateersman and Whig of the Revolution, who is mentioned on page 140 of the same volume as commanding

the brigantine *De Lancey*, owned by Lawrence Kortright.

Is not Captain Randall the person alluded to in the query as Washington's Spy in New York? C.

THE CLYMER HOUSE, PHIL.—(V., 196). The house is depicted in the September number of the Magazine of American History but the text fails to give its location, which was on the South side of Chestnut Street, east of Seventh. It was for half a century the residence of George Harrison, Esq. Mr. Clymer bought the lot, sixty-three feet on Chestnut Street, and extending two hundred and thirty-five feet to George Street, now Sansom, from George Logan, the grandson of James Logan, of Steuben, on 17th March, 1790, for £600, gold and silver money of Pennsylvania; this was while he was filling his duties in Congress, and it is fair to presume he shortly began to build the mansion and stable. On 3d September, 1795, he sold the property, "with the Brick Messuage or Tenement, Coach House, and other buildings thereon erected," to George Harrison, merchant, for £9,250 specie. Mr. Harrison, on the 23d December following conveyed this to his brother-in-law, Bishop White, in trust for his wife Sophia, who was the daughter of Tench Francis. Mr. Harrison died here 6th July, 1845, and Mrs. Harrison in 1851. This estimable couple offered here constant hospitality, and became the centre of Philadelphian society, and all strangers of note found a welcome at their hands. Dying without children, the property became the heritage of Mrs. Harrison's nephew, Mr. Joshua Francis Fisher, who erected on

its site, in 1853, the warehouse Nos. 622, 624, and 626 Chestnut Street.

Phil.

T. H. M.

A MOON CURSER.—(V., 140.) A newspaper of the day describing the execution of Hickey, Washington's Life Guardsman, said: "During the execution, Kip, *the moon curser*, suddenly sank down and expired immediately." *Am. Hist. Record*, Vol. I, 445.

C. A. C.

ROCHAMBEAU AT BOLTON, CONN.—(IV., 293.) The "Diary of a French Officer," quoted, states that the division of the army under M. de Rochambeau on the march from Providence, was at Bolton, June 21st, where they stopped for the night. At this place, 14 miles east of Hartford, the writer says that "the view is very pleasing." This was doubtless from the fine outlook over the Connecticut river valley there obtained, the city of Hartford also being distinctly seen from several parts of the road. Bolton is situated on very high ground, and this again well tallies with the diarist's words, "we came to Bolton with the greatest difficulty imaginable."

But my note has to do mainly with his "side note," which is as follows: "The host of Rochambeau was a minister at least six foot three inches in height."

"This man, whose name was Cotton, offered the wife of a grenadier, to adopt her child, to secure his fortune and give her for herself 30 louis. She repeatedly refused." Some fifty years since, a Connecticut pastor of the same name, told us of his uncle, the Rev. George Colton, an ancient Congregational minister at

Bolton, who, from his tall, commanding figure, used to be called "the high priest of Bolton." The name was not *Cotton*, but the diarist was more correct about the stature. Indeed, I learn from an obliging correspondent, the Rev. Luther H. Barber, the present pastor of the Bolton church, that his noted revolutionary predecessor was said to have been six feet *seven* inches in height—making him probably the tallest clergyman of the American pulpit at that day.

Of Mr. Colton's generous proposition to the grenadier's wife, our friend can find no tradition in Bolton, but adds that an aged parishoner who remembers Mr. Colton, says that, "it would be just like him." The old pastor was twice married but had no children. He was characterized by eccentricity, piety, and an eminent devotion to the cause of Foreign Missions, often praying for the spread of the Gospel "all around the world;" was influential in the formation and support of the Connecticut Domestic Mission Society, the pioneer, and bequeathed his homestead to its treasury. From an historical discourse by the Rev. W. E. B. Morse, a former pastor, Mr. Barber kindly gives us the subjoined facts:

"Rev. George Colton was the son of Rev. Benjamin Colton, the first minister of West Hartford. He was born 1736, graduated at Yale College 1756, and was ordained and installed pastor in Bolton Nov. 9th, 1763, where he preached up to the time of his death, June 27th, 1812, so that he had there a continuous ministry of forty-nine years, and one that seems to have been crowned with great success.

Elizabeth, N. J. WILLIAM HALL.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 37, Station D—N. Y. Postoffice.)

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

By Dr. H. VON HOLST, Professor at the University of Freiburg. Translated from the German by JOHN J. LALOR, A. M., 1828-1846. Jackson's Administration, Annexation of Texas. 8vo, pp. 714. CALLAGHAN & Co. Chicago, 1879.

The translator, in his prefatory note, gives his reason for a change in title of this volume, which has since been approved by the author, and he also acknowledges his indebtedness to Prof. Wm. F. Allen, of the University of Wisconsin, General James M. Lynch of Milwaukee, and Alfred B. Mason, Counselor at Law, of Chicago, for valuable assistance.

It were impossible in the brief compass of a review to present in detail the majestic scope of this work, or to do justice to the profound study, accurate insight, incisive analysis and masterly comprehension of his subject which the author has brought to bear upon a period in "the history of the United States, pregnant with results yet germinating in the womb of time."

"In the person of Adams, the last statesman who was to occupy it for a long time left the White House; professional politicians and the crowd took possession of it." How long this is to continue is a page in the history of Democracy as yet untuned. Prior to this time the presidential succession had been determined by a caucus of Congress—known and execrated as King Caucus. This barrier to the incursion of mob rule was broken in 1824 by the prostration of William H. Crawford, the caucus candidate, by a stroke of paralysis, which left him a physical and mental ruin. The administration of Jackson is an epoch in the history of the United States: he was known to the people as a backwoods lawyer and successful general; to the political world as a man whose mind was as untrained as his passions were unbridled, whose utterances in Congress were choked by violence; and his candidacy, when proposed by the Legislature of Tennessee in 1824, was received in the Eastern States with surprise, mingled with derision and contempt.

Jackson was by origin and development a man of the masses, and the masses had in the political struggles of the past learned their power, and were prompt to use it. Opportunity was now found, and the theory of popular sovereignty was put into practical use. The election, however, went into the house, and there Adams was chosen President. In 1828 Jackson was elected President by the popular vote, a result rightly designated by Benton as the victory of the "Demos

Krateo" principle over the theory of the constitution. Jackson, before his accession, had been loud and profuse in profession and protest against the influencing of election by Government patronage, and in 1816 had exhorted Monroe to "exterminate the monster called party spirit." Previous to his time it had been difficult to find men willing to take office under the general Government, but as it grew in public estimation, a change took place, and the era of the professional politician began. Under Van Buren as guiding spirit, there had arisen in the State of New York an association of men of this class, known as the Albany Regency, whose decision in the selection of all candidates for office, State or National, was supreme. Now the cry was, to the "victors belong the spoils." Jackson, who was a practical man and acted under the banner of the Regency, to which he owed his success in New York, punished his enemies, *i. e.* office holders, by removal, and rewarded his friends, who struggled like swine for a foothold in the public trough, with appointments. Over one thousand officials were removed in his first year.

One great question of that day was the continued existence of the United States Bank, an institution to which Jackson was opposed; his hostility soon showed itself in the arbitrary removal of the deposits, and in the veto of the bills passed by both Houses of Congress renewing its charter.

His action in the first case was an arbitrary exercise of personal power, an usurpation. The Senate resolved: "the President had assumed upon himself power and authority not conferred by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both." Jackson sent in a protest, with a demand that it be entered on the Journal of the Senate. The Senate resolved that the protest and demand were irreconcilable with the authority of the two Houses of Congress and with the constitution. After a long wrangle the resolution was expunged from the journal of the Senate.

The records of the nation were mutilated at the demand of a tyrant. The veto of the bank bill, while valid in law, was based on an assumption of power on the part of the President to judge not only of the constitutionality of laws submitted to him for approval, but of his right to pass on laws already existing. Story well said we are in fact under "the rule of a single man"; Von Holst calls this period the "reign of Jackson." The demoralization wrought in this "reign," under the idea that power lay in the masses, has been sedulously fomented by a swarm of politicians of the trading class of high and low degree, down "even to the pot house politician and the common thief under the

protecting mantle of demagogism." When people from the region lying between the limits of society and the house of correction "obtained control in politics, mediocrity, on an ever descending scale, dominated, and moral laxity became the rule if not a prerequisite to advancement." The first clear symptom of the decline of a healthy political spirit was found in Jackson's re-election to the presidency, its consequence in the manner in which it was turned to account by the southern States to the promotion of the cause of slavery, the ease and rapidity with which the slave holding interest attained to the zenith of its supremacy over the Union. At this same time there arose in the body of the abolitionists the enemy, which undermined the ground under the slaveocracy.

In 1821 Benjamin Lundy devoted his life to the cause of the slave, and in 1828 became associated with William Lloyd Garrison at Baltimore in the publication of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. Garrison was soon after fined and imprisoned on a charge of libel and inciting slaves to insurrection. After a confinement of seven weeks, his fine was paid by Arthur Tappan of New York, and Garrison went to Boston, where in 1831 he established a paper called the *Liberator*. The year following the New England Anti-Slavery Society in Boston was founded, and in 1833 the American Anti-Slavery Society was founded in Philadelphia. Its declaration of principles is one of the most important boundary marks in the history of the United States. It was a declaration of war against slavery. In 1831 an uprising of slaves in Virginia, under the lead of Nat. Turner, a religious fanatic, caused widespread terror in the slave states, and in Virginia emancipation was for a time urged in the legislature. Nowhere and by no men were the resources of argument and rhetoric more lavishly drawn upon than in that State and by the slaveholders themselves, at this time of alarm. James McDowell even urged that unless the evil (slavery) were then attacked, its removal would take place amid convulsions. But soon other views prevailed. Slavery was declared by Calhoun to be the corner stone of free institutions. The enforced ignorance of the slave was the peremptory demand of the system. Ignorance was necessary, that the negro should know his place; even the North echoed this cry. The foundation of a college for the instruction of the colored race was declared at a town meeting held at New Haven, in Connecticut, to be destructive of the best interests of the city, and an unwarrantable and dangerous interference with the internal concerns of other States, and one that ought to be discouraged. A law was passed by the Legislature of Connecticut in 1833, forbidding the instruction of persons of color from other States, and their admission into

schools. For violation of this law, Prudence Crandall was cast into prison and his school house torn down by a mob. In New Hampshire a similar event took place. In New York City and New Jersey riot followed riot; houses and churches were stormed and burned; negroes were set upon and killed in the streets. The scenes of 1863 were foreshadowed by the pro-slavery mobs of 1834.

It is needless to multiply instances. An outrage directed against an abolitionist was the highest form of devotion to the Union. This very violence forced the question in which it found its source into prominence, and resulted in opening the eyes of men to the danger which threatened the whole country from the slave power. The State of Georgia offered a reward of \$3,000 to any one who should bring Garrison within its limits, to be dealt with according to its laws. \$100,000 was offered for the apprehension of Arthur Tappan. The Governor of Alabama demanded of Governor Marcy the delivery of Williams, publisher of the *Emancipator* in New York, under an indictment found against him in Tuscaloosa. Marcy was willing, but was unable to comply with the demand, because, as he stated in answer, Williams had evaded "the justice of his State." The south demanded that the non-slaveholding States should pass laws to punish the abolitionists. Marcy and Everett were ready to advocate such laws, but the North was not prepared to abridge the freedom of the press. The incident is valuable as showing the brutal arrogance of the slave power. The struggle was now transferred to Congress. The President in his message in 1835, suggested the passage of an act prohibiting the circulation through the mails in the Southern States of incendiary publications intended to instigate slaves to insurrection. Such a bill was introduced and rejected, but it is worthy of remark that Jackson declared it to be constitutional.

Calhoun, who saw that in the Union and by means of the power of the General Government only would slavery be made secure, was censured by those less far-sighted than himself. He based the impossibility of emancipation or abolition on "diversity of the races," declaring that social and political equality between them was impossible; that to change the present condition of the African race, were it possible, would be but to change the form of slavery. Fateful words these, pregnant with prophetic foresight.

Jackson's reign was brought to a fitting close by his designation of his successor, Martin Van Buren, of New York. Jackson was no statesman, but he was a character. Van Buren was neither; he was a politician of the trading order, the impersonation of party. The only acts of his political life in which he showed himself other than this, are when he opposed the

introduction of universal suffrage in New York in 1821, and afterward favored the prohibition of slavery in Missouri. He repented of these errors. He had risen to political eminence through the use of means strictly adopted to secure his own advancement. His rejection by the Senate when he was nominated to that body as Minister to England, was regarded by the "people" as an insult to their chief. Through the Regency of which he was head he held the vote of New York, as Jackson's minion and political executor, and above all, having given the south ample evidence that he was a northern man with southern principles, he was elected as his successor. Henceforth the incubus of the wishes of the slave holding States weighed down the constitution like a mountain.

Jackson's lawless treatment of economic problems had contributed to bring on the crisis of 1837; but as this commercial convulsion was not limited to this country, its causes were deeper seated, and as far as the United States were concerned chargeable upon the whole people.

Van Buren proposed the divorce of the Government and the banks; the establishment of an independent treasury. In this instance he had the support of Calhoun, who erroneously judged that a victory for the administration would strengthen the hands of the state righters, which it did not. It added power to the general government.

The church in the United States partakes of necessity of the democratic feeling of the masses. It is a centre of influence rather than a leader of opinion, hence the apparent anomaly which for almost a generation ranged the church at large on the side of slavery, and caused it to denounce abolitionism as a disqualification for church membership and an offense against God. But the time came when the conscience of the North was aroused, and the authorities gathered with diligent research from the Bible, by pastor and people, to fortify belief in political dogmas already formulated in their own mind, ceased to have weight, and as servants of Christ they became in this question also servants of humanity. To the Roman Catholics alone, the question of slavery offered no difficulty; to them it was an ordinance not pronounced by their church as repugnant to divine law. With the gradual conviction, which grew up in the minds of the people of the free states, that the conservation of slavery meant to them the surrender of their personal rights and liberties, the power of the church was brought to bear against the great moral evil. This alliance Calhoun declared to be political and religious fanaticism, directed against the lives and characters of slaveholders, and announced their only alternative one of imperious necessity, to resist abolition at the cost of the last drop of blood and cent of money, to triumph or perish as a people. Calhoun's

furios advocacy of slavery was more fatal to it than all the attacks of the abolitionists. The line of attack adopted by them was in the form of petitions to Congress in favor of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, over which Congress had absolute jurisdiction. These petitions were many, and multiplied in number with time. To act upon them in any way was to surrender the principle upon which slavery was founded, and must necessarily result in its overthrow. All such petitions gave occasion for acrimonious debate as to their reception and disposition, to prevent if possible further agitation. On the 26 May, 1836, the House of Representatives, under the lead of the slaveocrats and against the bold protest of John Quincy Adams, passed a resolution that all papers and petitions relating in any manner to slavery, should be neither printed nor referred, but laid on the table, and no further action taken. This was a memorable day in the history of the Union. It was a direct blow at the constitutional right of petition, and was recognized at the North as a consequence of slavery, and an attack on the bases of freedom. Congress attempted by resolution to do that which by fundamental law it had no power to do. In January, 1837, a similar resolution was passed. Adams responded by asking if a petition he held in his hand, alleged to come from twenty-two slaves, came within the scope of the resolution. Then the vials of southern wrath were emptied on his head. Censure of the speaker at the bar of the house was the lightest penalty threatened. The grand jury and the penitentiary were called on to suppress the incitor of a slave uprising. To their eternal disgrace, be it recorded that foremost among the assailants of the brave old man, were Mann and Vanderpool of New York. The storm subsided at length, but not until more than one had cringed beneath the scorpion lash of his sarcasm. In December, 1837, the same scenes were repeated in an exaggerated form, the occasion being the presentation of a petition for the abolition of slavery and of the slave trade in the District. The southern members ostentatiously left the house, and all met after adjournment in caucus. They proudly spoke of their action as the "memorable secession." The ominous words had now been spoken; a trumpet call sounded for the marshaling of hosts. While the house was thus endeavoring to stifle all discussion of the question, Calhoun in the Senate boldly tore from the Constitution the fig leaves which had covered its nakedness, and advocated the passage of an amendment which should declare slavery to be the supreme good; the only foundation upon which a free republic might rest.

Yet another disgrace awaited the nation. The war against the Creeks and Seminoles in Florida, begun at the behest of the slave lords,

was prosecuted as a slave hunt by the army, and fugitives who had escaped from the adjoining States were purchased from the Indians on "account of the Government," and this purchase received the sanction of the administration.

The arrogance of slavery went yet a step further. The ship *Enterprise*, with slaves on board, on a voyage from one domestic port to another, was driven by stress of weather into Port Hamilton, an English possession, where the slaves were declared free. Demand for compensation was flatly refused by England. Calhoun charged her with a gross violation of international law. He grasped at the high seas as the domain of slavery in the name of the United States, and with the aid of his northern henchmen fulminated a series of futile resolutions of denunciations against England's revolting injustice. The nation at this time seemed so utterly prostrate that there was apparently no degradation to which the people would not submit at the behest of the slave power.

In the *Amistad* cause the administration bent its utmost powers to break down the last rampart of justice and freedom in a free republic—the Supreme Court of the United States; but that august body, not as yet composed of facile tools of the slave power, maintained its integrity. The negroes of the *Amistad* were declared free. Five days before the decision was rendered, Van Buren's term closed. He retired to private life, from which he never after emerged.

As one instance of the hold which party had acquired, and the methods of the democratic politicians, mention may be made of the tactics resorted to in the 26th Congress to secure a democratic majority, in defiance of law and right. The elections for five seats in the New Jersey delegation, for which the whigs held certificates, were contested. So evenly were parties divided, that upon the filling of these five seats depended the majority of either in the house. If neither of the contesting delegations were for the time being recognized, the democrats could secure the election of a speaker, and all the committees in their interest. Both delegations were excluded, but the scheme miscarried through the defection of Calhoun and others, and Hunter of Virginia, a self-called independent, was chosen. The party of State rights trampled under foot the rights and honor of the States in the name of the democratic principle and in the interest of party. The democracy scorned the broad seal of New Jersey. In later days that party have never failed to act on this evil precedent. It was a sign of the general demoralization of the party that defalcations were so common as to be matters of jest. Thieving officials were retained in office because their pockets were full, and the temptation to steal was less with them than it would be with new

appointees. Even Benton called the New York custom house the terror of the honest and the hope of the corrupt.

These things were the outcome of twelve years of Benton's *Demos Kratoos* theory put in practice. The masses wanted a "change." It secured one in 1840 in the election of Harrison and Tyler; the just hopes of Clay that he should carry, as he had the right to expect, the banner of the whigs, having been disappointed by means of an intrigue which had its origin in New York. Harrison was the son of Benjamin Harrison of Virginia, a signer of the Declaration of Independence; was himself a man of honor and had done noble service for his country both in the council and on the field. As a statesman he was but little known, nor could he now be induced to put himself on record in any other wise than in letters made up of general maxims, such as would be appropriate in a constitutional essay. But of his personal integrity, probity, and uprightness of purpose, there was no question. His poverty commended him to the voters, and "Tippecanoe and the log cabin" was the rallying cry of his partisans, and the presage of success. Tyler, of Virginia, floated into the nomination for Vice President on the tears he shed over the sacrifice of Clay. The position of Vice President as compared to the Presidency was looked on as a mere bagatelle; a conclusion falsified by the disastrous results in his case and that of one other. They were elected by a majority of 143,626; the democrats cried fraud. It was a party victory. The unnoticed cloud on the political horizon was the less than seven thousand votes cast for Birney and Earle, the candidates of the liberty party. Harrison died one month after his inauguration, and Tyler became President.

It is unnecessary to enter into details of the strife in which Tyler was almost instantly embroiled with the whig leaders, on the questions of the independent treasury, the bank and the tariff. He soon had no party, only a following; and all his efforts were addressed to the strengthening of the slave power and his election to the presidency.

West of the Mississippi extended a vast region of undefined boundaries, called Texas. The South had long seen that by the steady increase of the northern States in number and population, their control would be taken from them, and that slavery was doomed, unless endowed with unlimited expansion over a territory from which might be carved new States as a balance for Northern extension. This field for expansion was found in Texas, then a province of Mexico. That it was free presented no obstacle to the slave propaganda.

Efforts were made to purchase it from Mexico, without avail. American settlers had crowded into the land, taking their slaves with them, and

defying Mexican law. In 1836 Texas declared its independence. In the war which ensued with Mexico, the United States remained neutral so far as active intervention went, but it put no obstacle in the way of supplies, munitions of war and bodies of armed men, who marched through its towns to the aid of the Texans. Texan squadrons, fitted out in the harbors of the United States, were saluted by its forts and ships of war. Mexico was defeated, by reason of this neutrality.

Texas was a very travesty of an independent nation. Its army of twenty-two hundred men would have starved but for money sent from the United States. In November, 1835, its board of revenue resigned under the weight of a debt of thirty-six dollars. The fear that the territory might fall into the hands of England was used as a bugbear to stifle the conscience of the North and inflame the greed of the South. Claims for damages to American citizens, the alleged rights of land companies, the weakness of Texas, and the cry, "on to Mexico," fired the southern heart. The prospect of the boundless wealth of Mexico and Mexican churches were held up as a lure and a prize.

Mr. Wise blabbed out the policy of the administration; he even offered to conquer Mexico if some one would lend him \$5,000,000 to begin with. He would place California beyond the grasp of Great Britain; "slavery should pour itself abroad without restraint, and find no limit but the southern ocean." All this was prior to annexation; which was bitterly opposed by the right thinking portion of the northern people. But the treaty of annexation was signed. By an act of the Government, slavery was so far nationalized that it was declared by the Executive to be the sacred duty of the Union to prevent the abolition of slavery in neighboring countries, even at the hazard of war. "The bridal dress in which Calhoun had led the beloved of the slaveocracy to the Union, was the torn and tattered constitution of the United States."

Thus far it seemed as though the slave power would dominate the continent; that the wrong had triumphed. But "Texas was the Nessus shirt of the slaveocracy." With these significant words, this volume closes.

W. CARY SMITH.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY

PUBLICATIONS. No. VI. Early Records of the Town of Worcester. Book I. 1722-1739. 8vo, pp. 142. THE WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. Worcester, Mass., 1879.

This first book of the Records of Worcester was prepared for the press by Mr. Franklin P. Rice. Worcester was settled in the year 1674, and was then known as Quinsigamond. The

breaking out of King Philip's war caused the abandonment of the small settlement, and the few buildings erected were burned by the savages. It was again settled and incorporated under the name of Worcester in 1684, but again deserted in 1702, in consequence of renewed hostilities with the Indians. In 1713 Jonas Rice, a former resident, returned and laid the foundation of the grand old town, now prosperous and beautiful, which has maintained a standard of independence of culture second to none in the staid old commonwealth. The first meeting-house was built in 1717. The Rev. Andrew Gardner was settled as the first minister in 1719.

The early records begin with the warrant of Justice Fullam, empowering the freeholders and inhabitants to choose their own town officers and elect a "Moderator" by written votes. The town records follow continuously without break, and supply the usual simple information, quaintly expressed, on matters of local interest, great and small. We are told how there was "Taken up and Strayed a brown heifer Coming three years old, with her side Something black and white under the Belly and neck, and Little upon the flank, and a Slit on the near Eare, with no Brand;" and also a "Light Red Steer Coming in two years old, with a Swallow's Tail Cut out of the near Eare, with a Star in the forehead, and a Little white upon the back and between the Legs, with no Brand;" how "the Revd. Mr. Shearjashub Bourn was unanimously chosen for the Town's Minister," how "the Grants of the Pews were allotted."

In 1736-7 the preservation of fish was cared for, and a "Committee" appointed to "Repair to ye grate falls of ye Head of Providence River or to whear black Stones River falls into ye Salt-water, to see if it be practicable for the falls to be made passable for fish to Come up Sd River;" ordinances also for the "Encouraging ye Killing of wolves," a pest to the colony. The volume closes with a good index, for which we are grateful.

THE YOUNGER EDDA; ALSO CALLED SNORRE'S EDDA, OR THE PROSE EDDA. An English version of the Foreword; the Fooling of Gylfe the Afterword; Brage's talk, the Afterword to Brage's talk, and the important passages in the poetical diction (Skaldskaparmal). With an introduction, notes, vocabulary and index. By RASMUS B. ANDERSON. 16mo, pp. 302. S. C. GRIGGS & Co. Chicago, 1880.

Professor Anderson's English translation of the younger Edda is not a bad one, if merely considered as a translation; the simplicity of his English possesses a certain quaint, archaic

turn, that is admirably suited to his subject. On the contrary we are sincerely sorry that we are able to accept hardly any of the ethnological, mythological or historical theories, contained in his preface, introduction and notes. They seem to form one long tissue of blunders, and what is still worse, of systematic misstatements, with the exception, of course, of the general mythological information contained in the notes. We are here compelled to refrain from any detailed criticism, but still we may broadly substantiate our rather severe charge against the worthy and amiable Professor. Professor Anderson breathes nothing but "Teutonism;" his whole system rests on Teutonism, simple and absolute, with scorn and supercilious contempt for any other human manifestations, especially if savoring of Romanism. "Iceland," in his own words, "became the humble recipient of the old Teutonic spirit of freedom (*sic!*); the Icelanders only acted under the directions of the Teutonic spirit; old Icelandic literature did not belong to that island alone, but to the whole Teutonic world!" Does Professor Anderson really mean to insinuate, that Icelandic literature, from beginning to end, even including Eddas and mythic Sagas like the Volunga Saga, was not prominently stamped with metres, forms and style, that were the creation of the Icelanders, and the exclusive property of Iceland?

The only thing intelligible or real about the Germanic tribes, which invaded in succession the British Isles, was probably, that they left their ancestral seats precisely because they would *no longer be considered as Teutons*. All those Teutonic tribes no doubt brought with them a racial inheritance and the rude frame-work of certain political and social institutions, which in time may have contributed in western Europe to the kindling of an active, progressive spirit, which—if an "ism" must perforce be employed—we should prefer to characterize as "occidentalism," rather than Teutonism. The former at least has an intelligible, practical, geographical significance. Professor Anderson, however, has not a word to say about the dominant Celtic populations of the British Isles, that in time assimilated and completely absorbed all his Teutons, whether Anglos, Saxons, Yutes, Danes or Northmen, and thus, ultimately in their turn, conquered the conquerors themselves. The term "Teutonism" is exceedingly misleading, when exclusively applied to the social and intellectual development of west-European lands, in which both Celt and Teuton had a pretty equal share.

And now, as to the spirit of ancient Icelandic literature; was that also purely and absolutely Teutonic? Professor Anderson knows, probably, that more than one-half of the ancient Icelandic settlers did not come directly from Norway, but from the Scottish Isles and from Ireland both

before and after the battle of Clontarf. They had resided long enough in the British Isles to become a mixed Kelto-Norse race, although still speaking a Scandinavian language. Nay, even a number of purely Celtic families that accompanied them to Iceland had adopted the old Danish tongue, precisely as later the British Celt adopted the modern English, and most powerfully influenced its literature. Most of the Scalds and Sagamen—even the greatest among them—were men of a purely Celtic lineage, and bore Celtic names into the bargain. These are strictly historical facts, and not ethnological theories. Icelandic literature, accordingly, was probably more indebted to Celtic blood and Celtic genius than to all the Teutonism of the world. They may indeed have worked broadly upon a Teutonic basis, but they transformed both language and all the original elements into something much higher and nobler, to which all the other Germanic tribes down to the latest times have remained utter strangers. However, in Professor Anderson's country, during these last decades, there has sprung into existence a school of patriots and scholars, to which, we are sorry to say, Professor Anderson also belongs. These gentlemen at various times, have made desperate attempts to appropriate a series of Icelandic works as so many original Norwegian works, although notoriously written in Iceland, and by Icelanders. Now, that deserved a "*sic vos non vobis*," and the dear Norwegian cousins received it abundantly. Professor Anderson knows, probably, that the ungracious Norwegian claims were victoriously refuted among the rest by Dr. Jón Thorkelsson in a paper in the collection of "*Safn til Sögu Island's*." Since that time these scholars have mostly taken up a determined stand on the wider field of Teutonism. And yet, from that sterile point of view they will always miss all that is most attractive and really charming in old Icelandic literature. Professor Anderson only quotes Icelandic writers when he is absolutely driven to it, and when quoting any, they must not be supposed to be Icelanders, as that would be to offend the Teutonic idea. Among the chief authorities in the study of the Eddas he has quoted the names of a host of Teutons, from Bonn, Berlin, to Christiania, but not the name of a single Icelanders, not even of Professor Finn Magnusson, the father and creator of the interpretation of Óðinic Kosmogony and Theogony. This attitude assumed by the Norwegian scholars towards the Icelanders in this respect differs widely from that of the Germans themselves, who not only have admitted the originality and nationality of Icelandic literature, but have actually, like K. Maurer and others, contributed important works to consolidate the national claims of the Icelanders both in ancient and in modern times.

The Icelanders no doubt were indebted to the Norwegians for a deluge of laws, and very Teutonic and Tartaric those laws were, before they were altered to the requirements of the old Icelandic commonwealth.

Professor Anderson winds up with a rather pseudo-Catonic phrase: "preceterea censeo Romam esse delendam." To this one is almost tempted to ask with the Gallic poet: "Et, que faisaient alors vos vertus Germaines (if the Teutonism of Goth and Vandal did not suffice to destroy Rome)?" The Icelanders also in this are at variance with the Teutonism of Professor Anderson, for they stuck to Rome to the last, as Rome had at all times been exceedingly kind to the Icelanders, and because her abhorred yoke had always sat lightly on their shoulders. In conclusion Professor Anderson could not well expect the Icelanders tamely to sacrifice the national and individual character of their literature to any abstract, Teutonic entity, or still worse, to any Teutonic "chauvinisme," that probably will turn out to be a superfluous and illegitimate pretension.

A. H. S. GUNLAGSEN.

THE OLD STADT HUYS OF NEW AMSTERDAM. A paper read before the New York Historical Society, June 15, 1875. 8vo, pp. 59. F. B. PATTERSON. New York, 1875.

Mr. Gerard was already known to all interested in New York antiquarian researches for his paper on the "Old Streets of New York," read before the New York Historical Society before he prepared the monograph before us, which gives an account of the old City Hall of New Amsterdam, which was originally constructed as the Herberg or City Tavern, a hostelry erected about the year 1642, which became the City Hall or State House of New Amsterdam in 1654. The building stood at the corner of Coenties lane, facing Coenties Slip, where now are the warehouses, Nos. 71 and 73 Pearl street.

The curious in old New York history will find many droll bits of information in this odd monograph.

EARLY MEDICAL CHICAGO. An Historical Sketch of the first Practitioners of Medicine, with the present faculties and graduates since their organization of the Medical Colleges of Chicago. By JAMES NEVINS HYDE, M. D. 16mo, pp. 78. FERGUS PRINTING CO. Chicago, 1879.

In these well-edited, prettily printed and illustrated pages may be found brief sketches of the pioneers in the field of medical science, the

predecessors of the large body of medical men now engaged in the practice of their profession in the western metropolis. It begins with an account of old Fort Dearborn, with which the history of Chicago is intimately connected, and of Dr. Isaac Van Voorhees, the surgeon of the garrison at the time of the massacre by the Indians in 1812, and closes with sketches of the several medical institutions now existing in the populous city. It is a worthy contribution to the history of the healing art in America. The illustrations are in steel.

THE UTICA SLATE, AND RELATED FORMATIONS. Fossils of the Utica Slate, and Metamorphoses of Triarthrus Becki. By C. D. WALCOTT. In advance of Vol. X, Transactions Albany Institute. 8vo, pp. 38. Plates II. J. MUNSELL. Albany, 1879.

The name Utica Slate has been given by New York geologists to the black bituminous slates succeeding the Trenton limestone in the Mohawk and Black River valleys. The organic remains found here are claimed to entitle it to rank as a formation quite as much as its lithological character. It has fifty fair specimens of fauna limited to its boundaries. The author rejects the idea that the term Cincinnati epoch be substituted for that of Hudson River. The paper is purely scientific, and addressed to scientific men.

BEDFORD SESQUI-CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION, AUG. 27, 1879. Historical Discourse. By JONATHAN F. STEARNS, D. D. Also a Sketch of the Celebration. 8vo. ESTES & LAURIAT. Boston, 1879.

The oration of Dr. Stearns is a cheery colloquy over the glories of old Bedford (Massachusetts), which was "launched on her voyage" in 1729, the territory being cut out from the northeasterly part of Concord and the southeasterly part of Billerica. Bedford played her part well in the Indian wars and the revolution. She "toed the mark" at every step, and showed her hand, and that a mailed hand, in every emergency. It was at the corner of the Bedford road in Lexington that the first blood was drawn, and the Bedford militia were early in the fight. Naturally, there is some account of the pastors of Bedford, for in the old New England days the pastors were always "to the fore." One Dr. Stearns was the famous preacher, his ministry extending over thirty-seven years.

For the benefit of the unlearned, it is as well to say that the Sesqui-Centennial was the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation, that of the third half century.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN HADDAM, CONNECTICUT. By the Pastor, EVERETT E. LEWIS. Delivered July 9, 1876, and repeated Sept. 8, 1878. 8vo, pp. 73. PELTON & KING. Middletown, Conn.

This is another of the valuable memorial sketches called forth by the proclamation of General Grant. Haddam was first settled in 1662, and incorporated in 1668. Haddam belonged to Hartford County till 1785, when Middlesex County was formed, and Haddam became one of the county seats. There is some doubt as to when the church was organized, but probably before 1700.

The first minister named in the town records is Mr. Willowby, but beyond that fact little more is known of him. He was probably a transient preacher. He appears in 1667. He was succeeded by the Rev. Nicholas Noyes from Newbury, Massachusetts, a graduate from Harvard, but for reasons which do not appear he did not "see cause to settle," though he tarried among the Haddamites for many years. He was a man of mark, and "principal part of the glory of the churches and people of New England." When King Philip's bloody war broke out in 1675, Mr. Noyes acted as chaplain of the Connecticut troops under Major Treat, who did good service in slaughtering the aborigines. Of Mr. Noyes' successor, the Rev. John James, a Welshman by birth, little also is known. The Rev. Jeremiah Hobart, next in order, was an Englishman by birth, also a graduate from Harvard, who passed over to Connecticut from Hempstead, on Long Island. He was in his seventieth year when he settled. During his ministry the settlement on the two sides of the river was divided into two separate towns, and the East Haddam church was organized in 1704. The second pastor of the church was the Rev. Phineas Fiske, 1712-1738.

He was followed by Aaron Cleveland, 1739-1746, when he was dismissed because of the part he took in the "currency question;" pastors then, as now, meddling in matters in which they had no concern, and compromising their influence in things spiritual by interference in things material. Upon the departure of Cleveland, the Haddamites had some trouble in getting a pastor, and were compelled, as the United States when she made her first loan from Holland, to stipulate the weight and fineness of the money in which the minister should be paid. Mr. Joshua Elderkin tried it for four years, but finally gave up the ministry as a poor business, and took up employment of a secular character. In 1756 the Rev. Eleazer May was duly ordained and during his pastorate the congregation moved from their worn out building into a new church,

which was dedicated in 1771. A steeple, however, notwithstanding repeated efforts, was beyond the reach of the congregation. On the death of Mr. May, after a ministry of forty-seven years, his mantle fell on the shoulders of the Rev. David Dudley Field, the sixth pastor. He preached for fourteen years, but asked for dismissal because of the meagreness of his salary in 1818. Next came Rev. John Marsh, an "active, vigilant, valiant" minister—one of the church militant, which Haddam evidently needed. He withdrew in 1833. After him came in turn Rev. T. J. Clark, another one of those who preached with "earnest conviction the terrors of divine wrath." The descendants of the old Puritans knew what that meant. In 1836 Dr. Field returned, and again maintained the "pastor's prerogatives" with unabated vigor. In 1844 he again withdrew. There were many later changes, which cannot be recorded here.

WESTERN RESERVE AND NORTHERN OHIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY PAMPHLETS. 8vo. Cleveland, Ohio, 1879.

The publication of tracts by this society began in the year 1870, and has been since continued, adding many important contributions to the stock of history of this section of our country. Two papers were issued in the year 1879. Tract No. 50: *Indian Narrative of Judge Hugh Welch of Green Springs*, by C. C. Baldwin; Tract No. 51, *General Wadsworth's Division, War of 1812*, by Charles Whittlesey, President of the Society; both of local and personal interest.

A REFUTATION OF THE CHARGES MADE AGAINST THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA OF HAVING AUTHORIZED THE USE OF EXPLOSIVE AND POISONED MUSKET AND RIFLE BALLS DURING THE LATE CIVIL WAR OF 1861-65. By Rev. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN. 8vo, pp. 13. GEORGE W. GARY. Richmond, Va., 1879.

These pages are an answer to the charge made by Dr. Benson J. Lossing in his account of the battle of Gettysburg, printed in his *Pictorial History of the Civil War*, that the confederate troops used explosive and poisoned missiles. The gentleman who replies is not satisfied with a denial that the Confederate States ever authorized the use of such missiles, but makes the assertion that they were not only authorized but made for the United States. That any *poisoned* balls were used on either side is hardly to be credited, but in what an explosive rifle ball is more objectionable than a shell, passes our limited, purely civil comprehension. Blowing up in wholesale or in detail are, after all, varieties of the same practice.

THE SILVER QUESTION. By N. P. VAN DEN BERG. Translated from the Dutch Text at the Liverpool Consulate for the Netherlands. With an Introductory Chapter on the present state of the currency in Holland and Java, by the same author. 8vo. pp. 46. JAMES WOOLLARD. Liverpool, 1879.

In this pamphlet may be found an account of the difficulties caused in the currency of Holland by the perturbations in the silver market, and the introduction of gold as standard coin of the nation conjointly with the silver coins. The Indian possessions, however, formed a field more difficult to manage, but so far the lack of gold has produced no evil consequences, silver bringing the full value of gold for payments in Holland, and the exchanges have suffered less fluctuations than those of British India. Sooner or later, however, the author holds that the monetary reform must be completed by the demonetization of the silver still in circulation. And to this it must surely come, as to use the forcible words of the author, "No country, either in the West or in the East, can possibly prosper, whose standard of value lacks the principal quality it ought to possess—a great relative fixity of value."

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF REV. JOSEPH MONTGOMERY. By John MONTGOMERY FORSTER. 8vo. pp. 47. LANE S. HART. Harrisburg, 1879.

The subject of this sketch, doubtless of Scotch-Irish origin and Presbyterian parentage, was born in Ireland in 1733. Brought over at a tender age he was educated at Princeton, where he was graduated in 1755. Licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Philadelphia about 1759, he was ordained as Pastor of Georgetown, Kent County, Maryland, in 1761, but was compelled to ask his dismissal in 1769 on account of non-payment of his salary. While at Georgetown he married Elizabeth Reid, daughter of Andrew Reid of Trenton, N. J. Her connection with the Reids and Pettits of Pennsylvania is shown, and some interesting biographical details concerning the latter family, of which Colonel Charles Pettit, Greene's Assistant Quartermaster, a man of distinguished revolutionary fame, are given in this connection. After leaving Georgetown, Montgomery was installed pastor of the Congregations of New Castle and Christina Bridge after the form of the Church of Scotland. In 1777 he asked for dismissal from his charge on account of the "broken state of his parish." In the fall of 1780 he was elected by the Assembly of Pennsylvania to represent the State in the Continental Congress, and was

an active member in 1781 and 1782, as the journals show. In 1783 he sat as member for Lancaster in the Seventh Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania. In 1783 he was chosen one of the Commissioners to compromise the difficulty between Pennsylvania and the Connecticut settlers in Wyoming. Although no longer a formal minister of the Church, he occasionally preached, and is said to have been the first clergyman in the town of Harrisburg, where he opened a Master Mason's Lodge on St. John's Day, 1791. He died in October, 1794. A genealogy of his descendants closes this simple but attractive sketch.

SKETCH OF GOV. MERRIWETHER LEWIS. By General MARCUS J. WRIGHT. (First published in the June number, 1876, of *Ware's Valley Monthly*.) 8vo. pp. 10. Washington, D. C.

Merriwether Lewis, whose name is familiar as the chief of the celebrated expedition of Lewis and Clarke to the northwest territory, was the son of Colonel Robert Lewis, of the Virginia Line of the Continental Army. At the age of twenty he enlisted in the U. S. army as a volunteer, but was soon transferred to the regular service, with an appointment of lieutenant. At the age of twenty-three he was promoted captain. He was serving as private secretary to President Jefferson when the exploring party to trace out the Missouri river to its source was organized. Applying for the command, Lewis was at once appointed, and Mr. William Clarke associated with him to direct the movement, in case of accident to the chief. Soon after his return to Washington in 1807, Captain Lewis was appointed Governor of Louisiana. He killed himself in a fit of mental derangement in 1809. A monument was erected to him by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee in 1848, on the line of the old Natchez road.

LETTERS FROM FLORIDA. BY MRS. H. W. BEECHER. 12mo. pp. 85. D. APPLETON & Co. New York, 1879.

In these letters the impressions left on a practical mind, after several years of close observation of the characteristics, natural and acquired, of Florida, the resort of health seekers in the winter season, are recorded. In the genial climate of the old Spanish settlement, whose name bears continual testimony to its natural beauty, Mrs. Beecher finds a proper home and work for all of the thousands who gain a bare pittance in the overcrowded north. She shows what has been done with moderate sums of money, and what may be done in the future by a well ordered settlement.

OUR AMERICAN ARTISTS. By S. G. W. BENJAMIN. With portraits, studies, and engravings of paintings. 4to. D. LOTHROP & Co. Boston, 1879.

The authors, sketches of whose lives and engraved specimens of whose work are here given, are twelve in number—Beard, Bellows, Gifford, Chase, Shirlaw, Enneking, Wood, Colman, Thompson, Brown and Neal. Some of the engravings are exquisite specimens of the art in different styles.

THE TEST OF LINGUISTIC AFFINITY.

By ALBERT S. GATSCHET. 8vo, pp. 7. Reprinted from the *American Antiquarian*, Vol. II., No. 2, 1879.

THE NUMERAL ADJECTIVE IN THE KLAMATH LANGUAGE OF SOUTHERN OREGON. By ALBERT S. GATSCHET. 8vo, pp. 8. Reprinted from the *American Antiquarian*, Vol. II., No. 3, 1879.

The readers of the Magazine will remember the exhaustive article of this accomplished and industrious student, upon *The Indian Languages of the Pacific States and Territories*, which appeared in March, 1877 (p. 146). Attention has also been invited to his books and pamphlets; *Twelve Idioms of North American Indians of the Southwest* (I., 139), *Analytical Report upon Indian Dialects spoken in Southern Colorado, etc.* (I., 206), *Remarks upon the Tonkawa* (I., 206), *Timacua, Languages* (II., 573).

The papers now before us continue this investigation and deserve the attention of our Indian philologists. In the first Mr. Gatschet explains what he claims to be the true method of testing the affinity of languages; in the second he shows how the comparative study of the numerals of the different nations and races contributes to the disclosing of certain abstract ideas which may lead to an understanding of the physiology and reasoning faculties even of prehistoric nations—a study of *ideas*, as displayed in the continuous order of their sequence, analogous to that of *facts*, as presented by tangible remains such as grave mounds, chisel heads, etc.

EARLY HISTORY OF GENEVA (FORMERLY CALLED KANADESAGA). By GEORGE S. CONOVER, President of the Village. From the *Geneva Courier*. 8vo, pp. 47. COURIER STEAM PRESS. Geneva, N. Y., 1879.

At the close of the Revolutionary war Massachusetts and New York both claimed, under the British Crown grants, the larger share of the territory lying within the bounds of the State of

New York. In 1784, on the petition of Massachusetts, Congress assigned a day for a hearing of the Commissioners of the two States, the result of which was a cession by Massachusetts of the right of government, sovereignty and jurisdiction of all the lands in dispute, and by New York of a right of pre-emption of a certain limited amount of soil from the Indians, being 230,000 acres between the Owego and Chenango rivers. Beginning with an account of this settlement Mr. Conover follows with a relation of the treaties by which ownership of the territory was obtained from the Indians, and the controversies which ensued between the claimants of the land. There are chapters on the Reed and Ryckman patents, Phelps and Gorham's purchase from Massachusetts, their subsequent sale to Robert Morris (the Financier of the Revolution, whose papers on this subject are preserved in the O'Reilly Mss. collection in the N. Y. Hist. Soc.), Morris' sale to the Pinkney Association through William Temple Franklin, his London agent, and his conveyance to Captain Charles Williams as their agent.

Later chapters describe the Sullivan campaign, and the Old Castle at Kanadesaga, the Capital of the Senecas, the location of which is definitely stated, though all indications of its site are said to be "almost entirely obliterated;" the Cherry Valley massacre, and Mr. Campbell's account of the last Thanksgiving sacrifice of the White Dogs at Kanadesaga; a sketch of the Iroquois, abounding in statistical information, and finally, chapters in relation to the early settlement of Geneva, which, in 1792, consisted of a few families who had clustered at the outlet of the lake.

The pamphlet has been prepared with great care, and is an important contribution to New York State local history.

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY AND THE COMMON SCHOOLS. Three papers on educational topics. By CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, JR. 8vo, pp. 51. ESTES & LAURIAT. Boston, 1879.

The United States owe much to Mr. Adams for his practical labors in the cause of political economy. He is one of a class, numerous in Europe but restricted with us, who devote a life-time to subjects of public interest—not with a preconceived idea of favoring any particular system, but an unbiased rendering of conclusions, independently deduced from an assemblage and comparison of facts—than which there is no more scientific or safe mode of reasoning.

In this pamphlet he presents in narrative and tabulated forms the results of long experience in the management of the Common Schools and Public Library at Quincy. He divides his sub-

ject into three parts: I. The Public Library and the Public Schools; II. Fiction in Public Libraries and Educational Catalogues; III. The New Departure in the Public Schools of Quincy. In the first he points out the want of common sense in the education of youth, which he would properly limit to a direction of the mind in the path of self-education, and points the moral with a story of the manner in which his father crammed Pope's Messiah down his unwilling throat, to a disgust with the book and its author from which he has never yet recovered. In the second he notes the fact that fiction constitutes two-thirds of public library reading, and sensible again, looks upon this appetite as healthy and natural. In the third he has a hearty laugh over the old-style committee examinations of the students in the common schools, and reports the results of the change introduced in 1873, and the advantage of a thoroughly trained superintendence.

The pamphlet must be read in full for a correct understanding of its suggestions, and we commend it to all interested in this subject, which is the basis of republican liberty.

TWO MONTHS IN EUROPE. A RECORD OF A SUMMER VACATION ABROAD. By O. R. BURCHARD. 12mo, pp. 168. DAVIS, BARDEEN & Co. Syracuse, N. Y., 1879.

After two experiments, one in 1873 and one in 1878, the writer presents the results of what may be done in foreign travel in a trip of two months, and at an expense of five hundred dollars. He takes the reader to the Scottish lakes, through London and Belgium, up the Rhine, where he stops at Wiesbaden, Baden-Baden, visiting Heidelberg on the way, thence to the Swiss lakes and Mont Blanc, through Italy to Rome, and ends with the Paris Exposition.

RODERICK HUME. A story of a New York teacher. By C. W. BARDEEN. 32mo, pp. 295. DAVIS, BARDEEN & Co. Syracuse, 1878.

The preface declares that this story is written to depict certain phases of the modern Union school. It is not intended to teach any lesson. It is descriptive, not instructive. It is not intended for satire. The chapter in the book, which, under the title of an unlucky vacation, tells of the hero's experiences in billiard rooms and gambling saloons, created quite an excitement among the readers of the story when it appeared in serial form, but there was no help for it. Roderick did gamble and did lose his money, and was very sorry. The author confesses that he had been reading up the history of gambling from Appleton's Cyclopaedia, and we cannot re-

frain from the supposition that he used his material because it was on hand. There is the usual amount of sentiment that is found in this class of character tales. It is of a mild and innocuous kind.

HAWAII NEL. An Idyll of the Pacific Isles. By EDWARD BAILEY. 16mo, pp. 53. SAMUEL C. ANDREWS. Ann Arbor, Michigan.

In unpretending verse a picture is here given of the scenery of Kalakua's domain, with its volcanic mountains, ravines and streams, and some idea of Honolulu and the lazy life of the Kanakas.

ECHOS DE QUEBEC. Par NAPOLEON LEGENDRE. 16mo, 2 vols., pp. 208-202. AUGUSTIN COTÉ & CIE. Quebec, 1877.

Under this suggestive title, and in a pleasant readable style, with much that has no historical interest, there is a great deal of nice observation of the manners and customs of the ancient city, where the French still hold to their traditions with a pertinacity not usual to the race. The second volume begins with a sketch of Canadian literature, which is well worth perusal. It is of a late growth.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB OF NEW YORK, ITS ORIGIN, ORGANIZATION AND WORK, 1863-1879. By HENRY W. BELLOWES (for private publication). 8vo, pp. 200. CLUB HOUSE, New York, 1879.

Dr. Bellows gives here an account of the origin and formation of this organization, which was a social nucleus of loyal men during the civil war, and has since, by wise management, become one of the leading clubs of the city. Dr. Bellows forgets to mention that almost immediately after its organization the club departed from the purposes of its founders, which was to organize a club at a scale of price low enough, and on a social basis large enough to cover a wide field of ground, and bring a direct influence to bear on the upper working classes. It was this departure that rendered the formation of the Loyal Leagues necessary. The name of League also was taken from the Loyal National League, which was the creation of a day, upon a pledge drawn up, posted on the bulletins of the Evening Post and Tribune, signed by thousands of people, who later, called together by the originators of the idea, organized formally, and led the way in this popular method of supporting the Government. The Loyal National League was not, like the Loyal Union League, a secret body, but an open organization which anyone could

join who would sign the pledge of loyalty. It was this body that held the great meetings at Cooper Institute and in Union Square, and later the convention at Utica which determined the politics of this State. But while the Union League Club did not carry out the broad purposes which were the gist of the original plan, and was narrowed to a social organization, it was quickly swept from that equivocal position, and not only brought face to face with the political questions of the day, but active interference in politics became the very condition of its existence. Of the action of the Union League Club, however, on every occasion when its services could aid the Government or the cause, too much cannot be said in commendation; and in its courageous countenance and support of the negro regiments, in the face of a threatening and dangerous populace, it was simply heroic.

DESCRIPTIONS OF NEW SPECIES OF FOSSELS FROM THE NIAGARA FORMATION AT WALDRON, INDIANA. By JAMES HALL. 8vo, pp. 20. J. MUNSELL. Albany, 1879.

This is a paper read before the Albany Institute, March, 1879. Mr. Hall states the number of species known to him from the Niagara as upwards of one hundred and fifty, including variety. A brief account is given of those recently discovered.

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED BY THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY FROM THE SALE OF THE FIRST PART OF THE BRINLEY LIBRARY. To which is added a Catalogue of the Mather publications previously in the Society's Library. (Arranged and collated with notes by NATHANIEL PAINE.) 8vo, pp. 54. Press of Charles Hamilton. Worcester, 1879.

The student of early American history will do well to consult this excellent bibliographical work. Catalogues arranged and carefully collated in this manner are invaluable guides.

THE TWINS OF TABLE MOUNTAINS AND OTHER STORIES. By BRET HARTE. 16mo, pp. 249. THE RIVERSIDE PRESS. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co., Boston, 1880.

Bret Harte has created a new color of literature in this new country. There is nothing analogous to it. The dramatic interest of the earlier stories, *The Luck of Roaring Camp*, has not been sustained in his more recent works. Compared with this, his best story, *The Twins of Table Mountains* reads as though from another pen; yet, inferior as it is, it has a local color, and a quaint flavor peculiar to the author.

FAMOUS FRENCH AUTHORS. BIOGRAPHICAL PORTRAITS OF DISTINGUISHED FRENCH WRITERS. By THEOPHILE GAUTIER, EUGENE DE MIRECOURT. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 323. R. WORTHINGTON, New York, 1879.

This volume of biographies is made up of translations from the best sources. *Les Nouveaux Lundis de Saint Beuve*, *Les Causeries de Samedi de M. de Pontmartin*, Mirecourt's *Portraits and Silhouettes*. No class of men in their strong idiocyncracies, present such a variety of outline and color as the French literateurs, Beranger, Balzac, Dumas, Saint Beuve, all types differing radically from each other, almost without any points in common. The translation is satisfactory, though it cannot be said to render the authors' varieties in style as all translations should.

THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE LIVINGSTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, HELD AT GENESEO, TUESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1879. Opening address by President MILLS. Annual address by L. B. PROCTOR, 8vo, pp. 26. A. O. BUNNELL, Danville, N. Y., 1879.

The subject chosen by Mr. Proctor for his address was "The Judges and Lawyers of Livingston County, and their Relation to the History of Western New York." The bar of Livingston county has a proud record. Among the distinguished men named in this pamphlet Mark H. Sibley, George Hosmer, John B. Skinner, Dudley Marvin, Martin Grover are the most generally known.

EARLY INDIAN MIGRATION IN OHIO.

By C. C. BALDWIN. Western Reserve and Northern Historical Society Tract No. 47. 8vo. Reprinted from the *American Antiquarian*, April, 1879.

In these pages will be found a clear account of all that is known of the migrations of the Indian tribes. In 1872 they were located by Col. Whittlesey as follows: The Iroquois and the tribes adopted by them, Northeast Ohio; Wyandots and Ottawas, the valleys of the streams flowing into Lake Erie; the Delawares, the valley of the Muskingum; the Shawnees, the Scioto and its tributaries; the Miamis, the western part of the State, including the Miami valleys. These were the general limits of the tribes in Ohio from 1754 to 1780. Mr. Baldwin shows the manner in which these settlements were made, and the time, and indicates the principal sources of information concerning their history.

WHEN WAS OHIO ADMITTED INTO THE UNION? By I. W. ANDREWS, President of Marietta College. 8vo, pp.

It is odd enough that there should be any such doubt as to any State. The learned author of this little tract sums up his argument in these words: 'In view of all the facts we seem shut up to the conclusion that the State of Ohio was not admitted into the Union on the 29th day of November, 1802, when the Constitution was formed, but on the 19th of February, 1803, when Ohio was first recognized as a State by Congress.'

A LIST OF THE REPRODUCTIONS, BOTH IMITATION AND IN FAC-SIMILE, OF THE PRODUCTIONS OF THE PRESS OF WILLIAM CAXTON, England, First Printer, with some preliminary observations by B. H. BEEDHAM. 8vo. pp. 24. JONATHAN S. GREEN, New York. JOHN SPRINGER, Iowa City. 1879.

The bibliophile and bibliograph will be alike interested in this careful study, the publication of which is due to the antiquarian taste of Mr. John Springer, who guarantees the qualifications of the author and the accuracy of his description of the reproductions.

JOURNAL OF THOMAS WALLCUT IN 1790. With notes by GEORGE DEXTER. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for October, 1879. 8vo, pp. 42. University Press. JOHN WILSON & SON. Cambridge, 1879.

Thomas Wallcut, the writer of this journal, was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society and its first Recording Secretary. The journal was kept by him during a visit to Marietta, Ohio, from October, 1789, to March, 1790. It is of local value to those interested in the beginnings of the western settlements. Mr. Dexter's notes are as usual to the point and thorough.

INDIAN MASSACRE AT FOX POINT IN NEWINGTON, by CHARLES W. TUTTLE, from Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society. 8vo, pp. 6. Boston, 1879.

This is a still further impeachment of Cotton Mather's historical accuracy. Mr. Tuttle throws doubt on the alleged destruction of Fox Point by Indians in May, 1690, as alleged in the Moquotia. The evidence is of course negative, but it is strong, and Mr. Tuttle must be considered to have made his point.

THE GENESEE COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION. A HISTORY OF ITS ORGANIZATION, LIST OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS, AND THE ANNUAL ADDRESS DELIVERED JUNE 11TH, 1876, by HON. NORMAN SEYMOUR. 8vo, pp. 44. Published by the ASSOCIATION, Batavia, N. Y., 1879.

In August, 1869, the Pioneer citizens of Genesee County, met in Batavia and organized themselves into a society for the preservation of the remembrance of interesting facts in the early history and settlement of Western New York. Mr. Seymour delivered the annual address in 1878, which is full of information of a local character, and an excellent guide to the study of the history of New York as a State.

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS—PARIS—PHILADELPHIA—VIENNA. By CHAS. GINDNEZ, Architect of France; Prof. JAMES M. HART, of United States. 8vo, pp. 45. A. S. BARNES & Co. New York, 1879.

These essays appeared originally in the International Review. They carefully describe the different arrangements of these public exhibitions, and may well be kept in mind by the gentlemen who have assumed to themselves the management of the American World's Fair, with which it is proposed to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the organization of the American Government in 1783.

THE PALENQUE TABLET IN THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL MUSEUM, WASHINGTON, D. C. By CHARLES RAU. Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, 331. 4to, pp. 81. Published by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington City, 1879.

The specimen which constitutes the subject of this memoir is a sculptured slab, forming part of the celebrated tablet in the so-called Temple of the Cross at Palenque, in the State of Chiapas, Mexico, and is now in the Smithsonian collection. Palenque is a ruined city in the Mexican State of Chiapas on the borders of Guatamala, of which it was once a province. Cortes passed near it, but there is no allusion to it in the histories of his conquest. The ruins were discovered by Spaniards about the middle of the eighteenth century, and first explored by Captain Antonio del Rio in 1787. The Temple of the Cross stands on a dilapidated pyramidal stone, measuring about one hundred and thirty-four feet on the slope, and forms a rectangle fifty feet long and thirty-one feet wide. The tablet of the Cross, which is surmounted by a bird and loaded

with indescribable ornaments, is evidently of remote antiquity; and its construction antecedent to the Christian era, affords strong evidence that the cross had a symbolical meaning among ancient nations long before it was established as an emblem of the Christian faith.

This detailed and elaborately illustrated history of this curious monument is edited with scrupulous care, and published with great elegance.

THE LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION OF

RICHARD EARL OF BELLOMONT, GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCES OF NEW YORK, MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW HAMPSHIRE, FROM 1697 TO 1701. An address delivered before the New York Historical Society, at the celebration of its Seventy-fifth Anniversary, November 18, 1879. By FREDERIC DE PEYSTER, President of the Society. 8vo, pp. 60. Appendix, xvii. Published for the Society. 1879.

In this address Mr. de Peyster confined himself chiefly to the important details of Bellomont's administration in their bearings to the history of the Province of New York. The descendant of Colonel Abraham Depeyster, a friend of Governor Bellomont (whose letters to him while on public business in Boston form the valuable appendix to the address), the venerable orator is naturally found in sympathy with the Earl. Bellomont Mr. de Peyster finds to have been in entire accord and harmony with the people of the New York province, then chiefly Dutch or of Dutch descent. He bravely defended the memory of Leisler and Milborne, the leaders of the popular party and the victims of a personal cabal. Beginning with a genealogy of Bellomont, he traces the family from Sir John Corte, a native and knight of France, who flourished, according to Burke's records of the British peerage, some time in the eleventh century. Richard, the second Baron Corte, born in 1636, was created Earl of Bellomont in 1689 by William of Orange, and 1695 appointed Governor of New York. Piracy and an "unlawful trade in fraud of the Acts of Navigation and Plantations infinitely prejudicial to England" were then thriving in New York. The hardy seamen who thronged the seaboard towns of the American coast, cut off by the restrictions laid upon the colonial marine by the grasping policy of Great Britain, were always ready for a cruise in annoyance of the French traders of the northern settlements, or a more dangerous, but more profitable quest of the heavy Spanish galleons which ploughed the southern seas with their rich freight, the product of the Mexican mines; and they were not unfrequently assisted in their enterprises by the merchants themselves. The line between

privateering and piracy was a narrow one, and in the distance from home control, and the general indifference of the British Admiralty to any breaches of law or justice, so long as the seas were made hot for the enemies of England, often overstepped. Of course laxity in the enforcement of law led to crime in the practice of the ungovernable men who looked to the sea for their support and profit. Bellomont, who seems to have been scandalized by the abuses he encountered, attempted the difficult task of correcting them. His first attempt was in what in these days would be considered a droll fashion. At the instigation of Robert Livingston a vessel was fitted out to cruise against the French and the pirates of the Indian Ocean, who used the ports of the American colonies as convenient resorts for the disposal of their plunder. This vessel, the "Adventure-galley," was placed under the command of Captain Kidd. The vessel was owned upon shares, the King himself joining in the venture. This scheme ended in a disgraceful manner, cast a shadow over the fame of Bellomont, and brought Kidd to the scaffold. Mr. de Peyster attempts to vindicate the honesty of the Governor and the character of Kidd. Sailing from Plymouth, England, in April, 1696, Kidd sailed for New York, where he recruited a crew of desperate men, and started on his cruise. Sailing from New York, he reached Madeira in February, 1697, and the mouth of the Red Sea in July. Notwithstanding his earlier statement that "Kidd was not the evil and abandoned character he is so generally regarded," Mr. de Peyster finds himself compelled to admit "that he became a pirate," though with the saving clause, "not so much from any particular design on his part as by force of circumstances and previous training as a privateer." Some captures were made, including that of the "Quedah Merchant," valued at £64,000, which he carried into Madagascar, where he burnt the Adventure-galley. He then sailed for the West Indies in the Quedah Merchant; arriving there in the spring of 1699, he learned that he had been declared a pirate, purchased a sloop, and with it sailed for Delaware Bay, and thence to the vicinity of New York, where he disembarked a messenger to claim the protection of Bellomont, who was at Boston. Bellomont invited him to Boston, where Kidd appeared on the 1st July, and was soon after arrested by Bellomont. His treasure was seized, and found to consist of one thousand one hundred and eleven ounces of gold, two thousand three hundred and fifty-three ounces of silver, fifty-seven bags of sugar, forty-one bales of goods and seventeen pieces of canvas. Kidd was sent to London for trial in 1700. On his arrival the entire proceedings, in which Bellomont was of course implicated, were exposed. Kidd was tried, pleaded that he had been forced by his crew into piracy, and hanged.

The judgment of Macaulay as to Bellomont's innocence in the nefarious part of Kidd's proceeding is no doubt correct, but that he could have entered into such a partnership for purposes of personal gain is an imputation on his judgment and a stain upon his fame, which no apology can remove.

Failing in this attempt to repress piracy by an application of the homœopathic principle of *similia similibus curantur*, Bellomont returned to the charge with new-born zeal, and "resumed his old battle against illegal trade and piracy" with such vigor that a petition for his removal was sent to England by the New York merchants, who would not accept his construction of what was and what was not legitimate trade. The London merchants, sympathizing with their persecuted kin across the sea, joined in the petition.

Harried by his enemies on both sides of the water, he could no longer resist his more immediate enemy, the gout, and in March, 1701, fell a prey to this disease. He died in the city of New York, and was buried "in the Chapel at the Fort at the Battery." Later the leaden coffin which contained his remains was removed to St. Paul's churchyard.

Mr. de Peyster has illustrated his pamphlet with photographs of a portrait of Bellomont in his possession and of Colonel Abraham de Peyster and his wife. Bellomont's personal appearance is described on the authority of Mrs. Lamb, but we miss Mr. de Peyster's identification of the portrait as that of Bellomont. The Bellomont Madeira which survived him was long famous.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

By CHARLES GODFREY LELAND. 16mo. pp. 246. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, New York, 1879.

The name of the author of this biography is sufficient guarantee of an attractive treatment of the subject, which, like the story of Washington, can never become hackneyed while the United States remains what Lincoln so largely contributed to make it—a free nation. The key note of Mr. Leland's book is the example of self culture set before us in the life of the man who, from the humblest beginnings, lifted himself, through marked gradations by force of study, perseverance and honest ambition, to the first rank among American men, and finally, in the administration of the government, showed himself fully equal to each new occasion as it arose. The most interesting feature in Lincoln's character was his peculiar temperament. He was naturally a man of humours, melancholy almost to morbidness,

or gay almost to absurdity, yet holding each mood in stern control when action demanded its repression. Both of these traits were inherited, his father being of a gay and excitable nature, and his mother habitually depressed. In the narrative of his early life, with its experiences peculiar to the western region, but by no means uncommon there, Mr. Leland is in happiest vein, thoroughly appreciating and drawing in strong relief his kindness of heart, his indomitable perseverance, the result of his will power, because he was by nature indolent, his keen sense of the ludicrous, his unflinching good nature, and his personal vigor and courage. Successful as a lawyer and well known throughout his region as one of the ablest of his profession, and with a local personal popularity that always drew crowds to listen to his forensic displays, his fame first burst upon the nation as not unequal to the foremost, in the magnificent intellectual duel he maintained with Douglas, the idol of the young West. His speeches in that remarkable political campaign are models of fine legal argument and comprehensive grasp of what may be termed higher politics. His first inaugural is one of the most original papers in American literature, and his address at Gettysburg, for chaste simplicity, and a choice of words expressing most aptly the deepest feeling, will stand forever as a model of true oratory. One trait of Mr. Lincoln's public character has never been presented with sufficient strength; his remarkable knowledge of men, his intuitive insight into motives, and his ability to draw from each precisely what he needed, no less and no more. This is hardly statesmanship, and it is doubtful whether Mr. Lincoln will ever rank as a great statesman. His training had not been in that direction, but rather to make immediate use of that which fell to his hand, which is rather political sagacity than the higher range of intellectual mastery. Yet his objects were always large and philanthropic, and his highest aim the welfare and improvement of mankind. He was a firm believer in popular government, and held that the average opinion of mankind was more certainly right than the views of any specialist, however profound. His administration was a perfect vindication of his theory, and it is questionable whether the people of the United States would have followed with such entire trust any other than himself. No man to a greater extent than he inspired confidence in the purity of his intentions, and it almost seemed as though the popular heart beat in response to his own, and the popular will determined that what he said was best to be should at all hazards be brought to pass. And to this day, on each recurring struggle for political power, there are tens of thousands who hold in memory his advice and his declared purposes, and ask themselves how they may best contribute to the order of things as he would have wished them.

OBITUARY

THE REV. SAMUEL OSGOOD, D.D., LL.D.

*Read before the New York Historical Society
October 5th, 1880.*

The history of the Osgood family in America, to which is now added the honorable record of our late colleague, as a scion of the seventh generation, is coeval with the history of the Massachusetts commonwealth. In 1634, Christopher Osgood, its progenitor, came from Hampshire, England, to the shores of that newly founded colony, and from him has descended a numerous posterity, which comprises many persons, eminent in the annals of New England and the nation. Dr. Osgood's parents were Thomas Osgood and Hannah Stevens, who shortly after their marriage in 1792, removed from the paternal homestead in Andover, Mass., to Charlestown, Mass., where Samuel, their twelfth child, was born August 30th, 1812. With parental prescience they discerned in his happy disposition, his lively spirits and warm affections, his intellectual quickness and early fondness for letters, that he was born one of the gifted few whom Heaven entrusts with unusual talents to be employed for the good of the many. They selected careful teachers to prepare him for the collegiate course at Harvard University, from which institution, after applying himself with great industry and ardor, he was most honorably graduated, in 1832, at the age of twenty years. His collegiate life at Cambridge was passed under the immediate teachings of Ware, Channing, and other brilliant scholars of the emergent Unitarian faith, and their vigorous utterances deeply influenced his youthful christian zeal, and determined his purpose to enter the ministry of that denomination. In 1835, he completed his theological course at the Cambridge Divinity School, and spent in further study and travel in the South and West the two following years, during which the first work of his vocation at Louisville and Cincinnati, gave large promise of the power, which he afterwards exhibited in the pulpit. In 1837 he accepted the pastorate of the Unitarian Church at Nashua, N. H., and in 1842 was called to that of the Westminster Unitarian Church, at Providence, R. I. In the following year, one of the most propitious events of his life, as evinced by the peculiar felicity of his subsequent domestic relations, took place in his marriage with Ellen Haswell Murdoch, of Boston, a lady of congenial temperament, taste, and education. In 1849 he was transferred in accordance with the general desire of the Unitarian denomination to what had become an important field of its influence in America, and succeeded Dr. Orville Dewey in the pulpit of the Church of the Messiah in this city, where he officiated for twenty years. In 1869 he relin-

quished the pastoral charge of this church, and sought in foreign travel relief from the physical effects of his long and continuous ministry. Upon his return to this country, in 1870, he took holy orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church, and without assuming the continuous charge of a parish, occupied the pulpit at intervals, and maintained various professional relations until his death, which occurred at his residence in this city, on the 14th of April, of this year.

From early manhood his literary activity was incessant and most fruitful. In 1836, while at Louisville, he was associated with Dr. James Freeman Clarke in editing the *Western Messenger*, a Unitarian religious journal. During his pastorate at Nashua, he contributed to American literature a translation of Olshausen's "History of the Passion," another of De Wette's "Human Life," and with C. T. Fox edited "The New Hampshire Book." From 1842 to 1849, the period of his ministry at Providence, he delivered several courses of secular lectures, which were subsequently published; and contributed to the *Christian Examiner*, the *North American Review*, and other prominent periodicals. In 1850 he assumed the editorial charge of the Unitarian organ in New York, the *Christian Inquirer*, and delivered before the Unitarian Theological School at Meadville, Pa., his discourse upon "The Coming Church and its Clergy." During his subsequent ministry at the Church of the Messiah, he identified his name with the permanent literary records of the country by the publication at various periods of volumes, replete with evidences of his rare scholarship and genius. Among these works, which now enrich our libraries, are the volume of essays, entitled, "Milestones on our Life Journey," and the volumes entitled, "Student Life," and "American Leaves." During this period he also delivered the Oration before the Alumni of Harvard College, at the inauguration of Professor Felton as President of that institution, and the discourse before this Society on its Sixty-Second Anniversary, entitled "New York in the Nineteenth Century."

While enjoying the merited repose from continuous activity which he had so honorably earned during the many years of his unselfish labors, the prevailing principle of his life still ruled him. He was still eager in his appointed task of cheering the hearts and strengthening the feet of his fellow men in the great mortal pilgrimage, calling onward the laggards, turning those faced wrong, and pointing the shining things upon the way, and where and what the bourn.

The later productions of his eloquent lips and ready pen include the published memorials of Bryant, Maurice, Crawford, Walker, and Duyckinck; the instructive criticisms upon Coleridge, Spinoza, Rousseau and Voltaire; and the judgments of his fine esthetic sense in the discourse on the "Ethics of Art," delivered at Boston in 1876. On

April 6th of this year, he made the last public effort of his life in delivering before the New York Historical Society his masterly Centennial discourse upon "Channing's Place in American History," which, with the memorial discourses upon Bryant and others, he intended to publish in a volume entitled "The Renaissance of America."

Dr. Osgood became a member of the New York Historical Society in 1850, and in 1855 its Domestic Corresponding Secretary. He held this office until 1865, when he was appointed to serve upon its Executive Committee, of which body he continued a member until his death.

The Committee desire to place upon the minutes of the Society a tribute of respect to his memory, which will not only attest his virtues, but their affection and gratitude. No more honorable memorial of him could be made than to depict in great detail his blameless life, or duly characterize the peculiar excellencies of his literary works. But this grateful labor will be appropriately performed by able biographers, who will trace commensurably with its importance the wide influence of his offices in the sacred calling which he adopted. They will record the facility of diction, the graceful elocution, and the unaffected dignity of bearing which lent enchantment to his effective utterances in the pulpit and rostrum. Posterity itself will discern in the printed monuments of his genius the clearness of view and beauty of illustration which characterized the substance of his mental efforts. The future scholar will behold in him the genius which assimilates learning, which communicates more subtle truths from those it gathers, not abstractions only, but the tender sentiments, the generous feelings, and high purposes with which it is inspired. The theologian will mark in him the courageous religious teacher who sought for the standard of truth and duty in the very nature of things, listening neither to personal and dogmatic authority on the one hand, nor visionary speculation on the other; who thus stood throughout his life, now against him who cherishes old errors, and now against him who would introduce new ones, the resolute champion of whatever is good in both progress and conservatism. In all the fields of his activity a man of power, the ambitious of eminence in any of these fields will meditate his bright example, not as of one who was feared, but as one whose dominion was in his love.

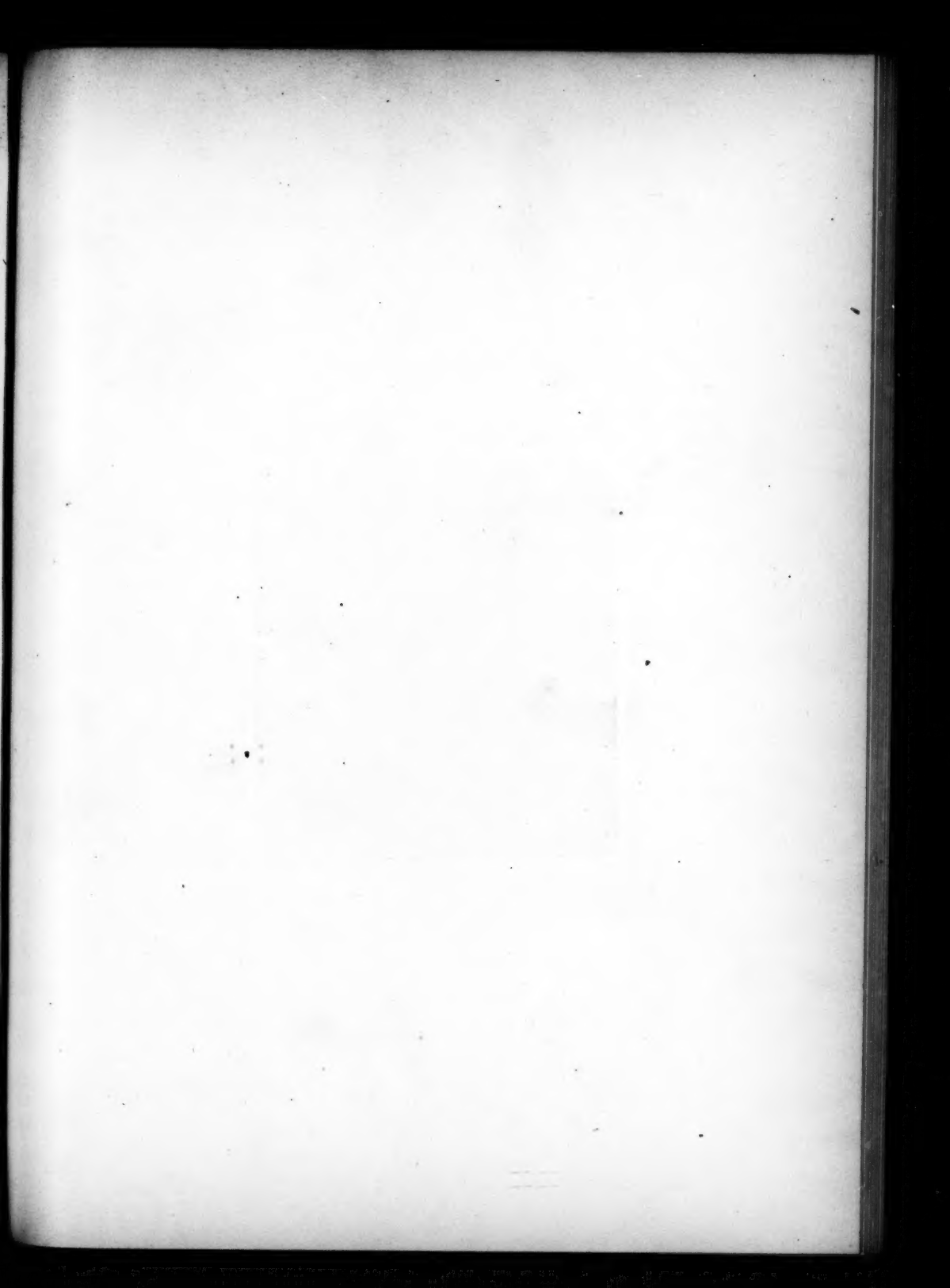
But now the Committee deem it most fitting to inscribe their memories of him as they knew him within these walls, and the environment of this institution's influence, a cherished and faithful officer, who served it for thirty years, whose efforts were always most zealously exerted in its behalf, and whose counsels and sound judgment have greatly aided it in accomplishing its honorable purposes. The greatness of his worth, the

peculiar and tender sentiment of respect which the public now holds for him, warrant them in predicting the durable influence of his life and example upon the nation's character, and of his broad and humane scholarship upon its education and literature.

One of the duties of this society is to preserve the characters of exemplary men as lessons for posterity. We who are sifting the men of the past are likely, from the impulse of affection, to exaggerate the virtues of the contemporary friend. We who know that posterity will turn back upon the men of these times the same clear regard which we now turn upon those who have preceded us, would still speak with the accents of affection rather than with the deliberate voice of historic criticism. But our speech may well be silent of faults if it be of those which historic criticism would note but to point their triviality. Our spoken words may well be all of admiration, if it be for virtues, of which in the characters of men, the historic criticism of this day should speak the loudest. The world grows more and more desirous of looking for exemplars in life and character like his. The greatness of future nations will depend upon the spiritual rather than the physical hero; and that nation is fated to ignominy and servitude which will not cherish the substantial legacy he has left it in his example; for the inscriptions upon the urns which hold the ashes of the just are much alike, and when we bend our tender regard to read that upon one, new-made, our friend's, our conviction of its truth lends new force to the mighty lesson of all.

Thus, in our long intercourse with him, we see him growing with every hour of his lengthening life, invigorating his intellectual faculties, strengthening his moral habits, and developing his sensibilities; fashioning that life, not according to an impossible, dreamed ideal, but as something to be accomplished—an example for his fellow-men. So in our latest memories stands before us, like a statuary's work, the finished life of the man, the finest, the chief of his works. We see him entering the boundaries of the unknown land, another spiritual hero, sufficient unto himself and true to his convictions, still in his hand the inflexible staff of self-reliance, which Heaven early lends such to lean upon. We see upon his brow the wisdom of the sage; upon his face, the ever-freshening smile of youth. And if the broken shaft symbolizes the unsuccessful aims of an unselfish life, or the failure of those of ambition, let there be none over his ashes but one straight and lofty, to mark the achievement by him of both. His single, selfish purpose was to do good to his fellow-men throughout his life—and he has; his single, personal aim was to be known as among the noble and exemplary of his age—and he is.

JACOB B. MOORE.





C. P. Mémie N° 14 Plan I. N° 10

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THE AFFAIR AT KING'S MOUNTAIN

7TH OCTOBER, 1780

THE principal object of this article is to present in new but true colors the prominent features of this battle; delineations novel, although authentic, because contrary to narratives hitherto given as correct.

The chief facts are these:

1st. The fall of Ferguson did *not* determine the battle. He was *not* killed at the end of the action, as always hitherto represented, but "*early in the action*," and, therefore, his second in command and successor must have some credit for the protracted resistance instead of being held amenable to the charge of having surrendered as soon as his superior was slain, and the responsibility devolved upon him. He had gone through pretty much all of the previous receiving and giving of hard knocks, and had been shifted like a shuttle from one point of impact to another, wherever danger threatened, again and again, throughout the whole engagement, and he continued to fight on until, as his subordinate subsequently testifies (Charlestown, 30th January, 1781), "Captain de Peyster, on whom the command devolved, seeing it impossible to form six men together, thought it necessary to surrender to save the lives of the brave men who were left." "We lost, *early in this action*, Major Ferguson, of the 71st Regiment." Ferguson's obituary notice in Rivington's Royal Gazette (New York), 24th February, 1781, begins: "On the death of Maj. Patrick Ferguson, who was killed *early in the action* at King's Mountain, South Carolina." Another letter, dated Charlestown, 4th March, 1781, written by an officer who also was in the battle, says, "after our misfortune in losing Major Ferguson, the command devolved on Captain de Peyster; he behaved like a brave, good officer, and disputed the ground as long as it was possible to defend it." Finally, General Lenoir ("Wheeler's North Carolina," 105), who was a